

Identity, Integration and Involvement

A Study of Transnational Somali Diaspora Organizations in
Norway and the People Involved in Them.

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1.0 Introduction

The overall objective of this thesis is to contribute to a better understanding of how the relationships between identity, integration and the institutional framework in the host country influence diasporas collective involvement in their home country.¹ This will be done by studying people involved in transnational Somali diaspora organizations in Norway.

The movement of people across borders is an old phenomenon. What is new is the magnitude of the migration and the enormous economic and social consequences that follows from it (Casles and Miller 2003, Glick-Schiller 1999, Guarnizo 2001, Levitt 2001, Smith 2002). The world is becoming more interconnected (Held et.al. 1999). As a result of this increased interconnectedness diasporas are becoming crucial links between developed and developing countries, (Hall et.al. 2007) and between international migration and African development (Mercer et.al. 2008).

Besides of developmental issues diasporas might also have a role to play in creating war and peace. Civil war scholars' theories make up the predominant paradigm within the literature regarding the aims of diasporas (Hall 2008, Mohamoud 2006). Diasporas are claimed to be long-distance nationalists. Since they do not feel the suffering from conflict directly they can maintain a hard stance against any conflict resolutions that jeopardizes their wishes (Anderson 1992, Byman et.al. 2001, Collier 2001, Elliott and Elliott 2006, Merz et. al. 2007, Vertovec 2005). These theories are now challenged by numerous scholars who argue that diasporas contribute to peacebuilding and development in their home countries (Bush 2007, Cochrane 2007, Mercer et.al. 2008, Mohamoud 2005, Mohamoud 2006, UPEACE 2006). It is argued that diasporas can play a unique role because of their comprehensive knowledge of multiple cultures, and easy access to networks of local partners in their home country. Despite these two divergent views, there seems to be

¹ In this thesis the diaspora's host country is Norway and the home country is Somalia. Using the terms host country and home country is challenging seen in the light of that this thesis is looking at identity and integration. It is problematic to say that one per definition has a host and home country. The terms will be used in this thesis in lack of other terms, and since these concepts are common in the literature on diasporas.

an overall agreement in the literature that diasporas have the potential to act in ways that create conflict or contribute to peace and development (Cochrane 2007, Collier and Hoeffler 2001, Baser and Swain 2008, Demmers 2007, Hall et.al. 2007, Hall 2008, Horst 2007, Mohamoud 2005, Mohamoud 2006, Newland and Erin 2004, Spear 2007, Turner 2008, Vertovec 2006, Østergaard-Nielsen 2006). However, while the results of diasporas' actions are much discussed, few focus on what the aims of diaspora involvement is.

Few of the above mentioned scholars elaborate on diasporas' reasons for involvement, or what the characteristics of those involved in transnational activities are. Safran (1990) argues that a key trait of diasporas is that their involvement is explained by their identification with the home country. Opposed to Safran (1990) are those who argue that the host country most likely play a crucial role in defining the ways diasporas choose to be engaged with their home country in (Esman 1986, Hall et.al. 2007, Horst and Gaas 2009, Waldinger and Fitzgerald 2004, Østergaard-Nielsen 2006). Political attitudes and behavior of diaspora groups are not predetermined and vary significantly (Hall et.al. 2007, Zunzer 2004). Level of integration in the host country is argued to be a central factor for diasporas' contributions. Despite the limited knowledge of the relationship between transnational orientation and integration, the current political view is according to Snel et.al. (2006:287) that they are at odds. While some scholars emphasize that individuals involved in activities directed towards their home country are those who are marginalized in the host country (Castles 2002, Demmers 2001, Kapur 2007), others argue that it is those who are well integrated into the host country that have a transnational orientation (De Haas 2006, Faist 2000, Kleist 2009, Koser and Van Hear 2003, Snel et.al. 2006). The relationship between integration and involvement is not clear.

Host country context matters for diasporas' collective contributions in other ways as well. The funding structures and support possibilities available for diaspora organizations in the host country, understood in this thesis as the institutional

framework, is found to have a major influence on diasporas ability to contribute collectively to their homelands (De Haas 2006, Horst 2008b, Trans and Vammen 2008). Although it is clear that national context can both constrain and facilitate diaspora activities, not enough focus has been directed towards the relationship between identity, integration and ability to make use of the institutional framework.

Diasporas can contribute to their home country through individual or collective contributions. Individual remittances might have an impact on the development in a country (Berdal 2005, Gundel 2002, Horst 2008b), but contributions by organizations are argued to make a more structural difference (Brinkerhoff 2008c, De Haas 2006, Kleist 2009). Little literature and research exist on collective efforts by diasporas (Pirkkalainen and Abdile 2009). Thus, there is a need to look at diasporas collective involvement.

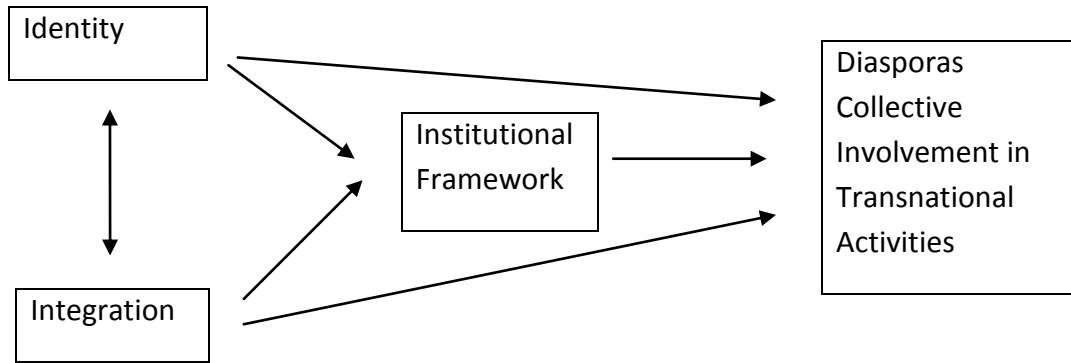
1.1 The Research Question and Sub Questions

This thesis will address these gaps in the literature by looking at transnational Somali diaspora organizations in Norway. The research question is;

How do identity, integration and the institutional framework in Norway influence diasporas' collective involvement in transnational activities?

The relationships that this thesis seeks to address are illustrated in Figure 1. The model illustrates the four sub questions that will be dealt with in the thesis. These sub questions are designed to separately look into the relationships between the variables in the research question. In this way one will be able to thoroughly discuss how identity, integration and the institutional framework in a country might influence diasporas' collective involvement in transnational activities.

Figure 1. The Relationship between Identity, Integration and Involvement



The first variables in the model are identity and integration. In the model a relationship between these variables illustrated interconnectedness. The first sub question is;

1. How does identity and integration influence each other?

Identity and integration might also be connected to diasporas' collective involvement in transnational activities. It may influence why people are participating in these activities. Additionally, it can also influence what the goals of these activities are. The second and third sub questions are;

2. How is identity and integration influencing diasporas' reasons for involvement in collective transnational activities?

3. How is identity and integration influencing the aims of diasporas in their collective transnational activities?

How diasporas are able to be involved in their home country might also be influenced by the institutional framework in the host country. Identity and integration might be related to in what way the diasporas are able to, or want to, make use of the institutional framework. The institutional framework in a country is

thus understood as an intermediate variable located between identity and integration that might influence diasporas' collective contributions. The forth sub question is;

4. How does the institutional framework influence diasporas' collective involvement in transnational activities, and how is this influence affected by identity and integration?

This thesis addresses the relationship of the variables in the direction shown by the arrows in model 1.1. This means that although the institutional framework might influence identity creation and integration, this is not looked into. Additionally, this thesis does not look into how the situation in the home country might influence diasporas' involvement. Although the home country context is a central variable in explaining diasporas involvement in transnational activities in the literature (Horst and Gaas 2009), it is not looked into here. This is done to limit the scope of this thesis.

1.2. Why Look at the Somali Diaspora in Norway?

“[...] the Somali diaspora represents one of the first significant black, African, non-Christian, and non- English speaking community in the West.”
(Kusow and Bjork 2007:7)

Somalis are from one of the first black, African, non-Christian and non-English speaking immigrant groups in Norway. In addition they are the largest African group in Norway, and one of the biggest migrant and refugee groups in the country (Horst 2008b). They are also relative newly settled, and about half of the Somali population in Norway arrived within the last five years (Horst and Gaas 2009). Somalis have a poor socio-economic status. As a group they are perceived to experience difficulties with integrating into the Norwegian context, and they face widespread stigmatization (Fangen 2007a, Fangen 2007b). About 46,3 % of Somali youth participate actively in Somali NGOs (NOVA 2006). Since Somalis are not seen as well integrated while at the same time have quite high participation in

organizations, this study might shed light on the importance of integration for participation in transnational activities. By looking at this group one can better understand what role diasporas can play towards their home country, and how fast they might start this involvement (Kent 2006).

Norway is one of the countries in the Organization of Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) that channel most aid through civil society organizations, (Norad 2007) and it is an official aim to involve diaspora organizations in this work (St.meld. nr. 15 2008-2009). However, according to Horst (2008a:1) Norway is still at an “early stage” in engaging diaspora members in development work. While there are a number of Somali organizations in Norway, few of them have a transnational orientation (Horst and Gaas 2009). Looking at the institutional framework in Norway can contribute to better understanding of how the funding and support system can influence diaspora organizations activity. These reasons make it interesting to look at Somalis in Norway with regard to the relationships between identity, integration, the institutional framework and diasporas’ collective involvement in transnational activities.

1.3 Structure of the Thesis

After the introduction, chapter 2 gives a short presentation of the history of Somalis in Somalia and Norway. The chapter looks at the context that this research is carried out in. Then chapter 3, 4, 5 and 6 gives an overview of the relevant literature and theory. This will demonstrate the significance of the research question. In addition, key concepts such as diaspora, identity, transnational diaspora organizations, integration and institutional framework are discussed and defined. The literature and theory overview is multidisciplinary.² A multidisciplinary approach best captures the complexity of the relationships between identity, integration, the institutional framework and diasporas’ collective transnational activities in which this thesis concentrates. In the methodology chapter, chapter 7, the process of data collection is laid out. In the analysis the empirical findings are introduced and discussed. This will be done in accordance with Figure 1 and the four sub questions. The first sub

² This is quite common in the literature discussing diasporas and transnational engagement. See among others Hall 2008.

question is addressed in chapter 8. The second and third sub questions are addressed in chapter 9 and 10. While the fourth sub question is addressed in chapter 11. In the last chapter, chapter 12, the main findings and implications of these with regards to the research question are presented and discussed.

2.0 The Somali- Norway Encounter³

Migration is said to be at “the heart of Somalia nomadic culture” (Marchal 1996:11). Somalis have a long history of transnational activities going back to the 1880ties where diasporas in the UK sent money back to Somalia (Kleist 2004). Of an estimated 8 million Somalis, about 2 million people are believed to live outside their home country. Most of these migrants live in the countries near Somalia (Lewis 2008). Using Koser and Van Hear’s (2003:3) terminology these people constitute the ”near” diaspora, while the” wider” Somali diaspora is located in North America and Europe (Koser and Van Hear 2003). Looking at Somalis in Norway this thesis is concerned with the “wider” diaspora.

Somali Migrant History

Somalia is and has for a long time been a war-torn country. On June 1st 1960 British and Italian Somaliland united and became Somalia. This was a part of the new ideology of Somali unity where one aimed at uniting all ethnic Somalis under one Somalia (Lewis 2002). After a coup in 1969 Siyad Barre governed Somalia. Under his scientific socialism clan tensions increased. The following period was characterized by tension between the south and north and with neighboring countries (Lewis 2002). Taking an active part in these developments was the Somali National Movement that was established by diasporas in London in the early 1980s (Walls 2009). This illustrates how some diasporas already then was engaged in political activities directed towards their home country. Somaliland declared its independence in 1991, and Puntland declared itself as an autonomous part of Somalia in 1998. Today both Somaliland and Puntland are relatively stable. In southern Somalia intensive fighting is still taking place in parts of the region (Menkhaus 2009).

The first political refugees started to seek asylum in the west in 1978 (Lewis 2008). During the 1980s intellectuals were oppressed and a large number left the country (Ali 2005). Between one to two million people fled their homes as a result of the civil war, and many of these became refugees in nearby countries (Gundel 2002).

³ Inspired by a title by Pirkkalainen (2005)

The refugees in the "wider" diaspora are those who are likely to have been better off prior to their escape because of the costs of fleeing to these countries (Koser and Van Hear 2003) According to Gundel (2002:264) it was these better-off Somali refugees who got asylum in the western countries such as Norway. Prior to 1987 there were only 59 registered Somalis living in Norway (Fangen 2007a). It was first after the civil war broke out in the North of Somalia that the first big number of refugees came to Norway. The civil war spread to the rest of the country, and as a result also refugees from the south of Somalia came to Norway (Fangen 2007a).

Today Somalia's territory can be separated into three parts, southern Somalia, Somaliland and Puntland. Ethnic Somalis, however, also live in the areas around Somalia as shown in Table 2.2. By comparing Table 2.1 and Table 2.2 one can see that ethnic Somalis live in most of Ogaden in Ethiopia, and parts of Djibouti and Kenya. Somalia is characterized by a relative homogenous population in terms of ethnicity and religion. This does, however, not mean that there are no minority groups in the country (Gundel 2002). There are 6 major clan families in Somalia and a number of sub-clans springing out from these main clan families. Scholars operate with different names and number of the main clans which illustrates the fluidness of the clan system (Fangen 2007a). As shown on in Table 2.2 one can roughly place these clan families in different regions in Somalia (Lewis 2002). Although not openly stated, the importance of clans is transferred to the refugee's new countries of settlement as illustrated by the number of Somali diaspora associations that are organized by clan affiliations (Bjork 2007, Hopkins 2006). This is also the case in Norway (Fuglerud and Engebrigtsen 2006).

Norway, Migration Politics and Somalis

In a European context Norway is a mid-range country concerning the share of immigrants in the population as a whole. While there has been migration to Norway since the year 900, it is not until recently that the numbers has become substantial. In the 1990s Norwegian migration politics became attentive to new ways of connecting migration and development aid. The idea was that by supporting development countries one would also prevent the root causes of migration such as

poverty and conflicts (Brochmann and Kjeldstadli 2008). A connection between migration and development policies in Norway is found in government documents (Regjeringen 2006a, Regjeringen 2006b, UD 2007). It is also present through the governments' official aim to involve diaspora organizations in development work (St.meld. nr. 15 2008-2009). The Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (Norad) has in 2009 developed new principles for support to the civil society. Here one out of six specified goals is to increase diasporas' participation in Norwegian development cooperation (Norad 2009:3). Norad is to support and facilitate more and better involvement of diasporas in Norwegian development cooperation. One of the means is allocating money reserved for diaspora activities. In the report it is emphasized that Norad is open to cooperate with organizations that hold untraditional views on how to best create development (Norad 2009).

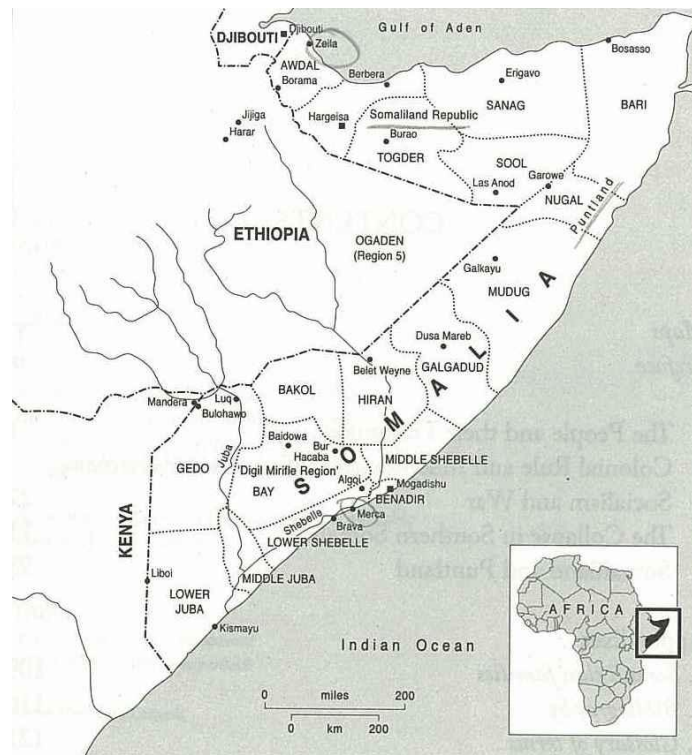
Norwegian migration policy is according to Fangen (2007a:38) characterized by that migrants are to be integrated by learning Norwegian, work and take education. According to Fuglerud and Engebrigtsen (2006:1125) Norway is a country where integration and the promotion of non-Norwegian cultural identity are seen by official white-papers and the main political parties alike, as inherently contradictory. Half the people asked in a survey thought that migrants should try to become as similar to Norwegians as possible (SSB 2006). While Norwegian migration politics in the 1970s were warning migrants of the danger of losing their identity this attitude is certainly no longer the case. The debate has gradually changed. It is unclear whether current politics are encouraging multiculturalism or assimilation (Brochmann and Kjeldstadli 2008).

A number of migrants experience marginalization in Norway today (Brochmann and Kjeldstadli 2008). This is also the case of some Somalis in Norway. As a group they are perceived to experience difficulties with integrating into the Norwegian context, and face widespread stigmatization (Fangen 2007a, Fangen 2007b). They have a poor socio-economic status, and are the group of migrants in Norway with the lowest rate of employment, and the group with least education (Fangen 2007a). Statistical data show that there is a big difference in achieved education between the

Somalis who came to Norway between 1987-92 and those who came in the 1996-2000 period (SSB 2007, Fangen 2007a). It seems like length of time in Norway matters for educational success. Both level of education and employment rate might change when the Somalis have lived for a longer time in Norway (Fangen 2007a).

Most of the Somalis in Norway came as refugees. Of the Somalis living in Norway in 2007, about half of them have a Norwegian citizenship. Half of the Somalis are below the age of 20, and only a few are over 50 years old. Somalis are a group that has stayed relatively short in Norway. 75% of the Somalis that live in Norway today came during the last 10 years, while 55% came during the last 5 years (SSB 2007, Fangen 2007a). Most of the Somalis that are given permission to stay today are as a result of family reunification (Fangen 2007a). Currently there are among 24 000 Somalis living in Norway (SSB 2009). There are around 150 Somali organizations, but only a few of them have a transnational orientation (Horst and Gaas 2009).

Table 2.1. Map of Somalia



Source: Lewis 2002

Table 2.2 Map of Somali Clans



Source: Lewis 2002

3.0 Discussing Diasporas' Identity and Integration

The relationship between diasporas' identity and integration is central in this thesis. Section 3.1 discusses which understanding of diaspora that is most fruitful for this thesis. In section 3.2, the concepts of diasporas' identity and integration are discussed. As this discussion will show these two concepts are interconnected.

3.1 Diaspora; Groups or Individuals?

What diasporas are is much discussed in the literature and one has still left to find a definition embraced by all. In this thesis diaspora is understood as

“Ethnic minority groups of migrant origins residing and acting in host countries but maintaining strong sentimental and material links with their countries or origin- their homeland” (Sheffler 1986:3)

However, diaspora is a complex concept that can be understood and analyzed in multiple ways. One can speak of diaspora as one homogenous group such as the Somali or Tamil diaspora. With this approach one use diaspora as one variable. However this use of the concept is challenging. Diasporas are plural actors in ways of political, social and economical attachments towards their homeland and can't be analyzed or seen as one group with one agenda (Cochrane 2007, Bush 2007, Hall et.al. 2007, Shuval 2000, Rigby 2006). Class, length of stay in the host country, or their belonging to a sub-ethnic group or cast may divide diaspora groups (Bush 2007). In addition divisions that exist within any society also likely to be found in a diaspora community (Esman 1968).

A second approach is to look at different people or organizations within a diaspora. One might understand diaspora organizations as collections of individual diaspora members. With this approach one looks at the individuals within the Somali diaspora. Because of the plurality of the concept it is argued that one should use the understanding of diaspora that is most fruitful for one's research (Butler 2000, Shuval 2000). The approach that is most fruitful for answering the question in this

thesis is looking at diaspora organizations and diaspora individuals. Looking at organizations is the most appropriate approach for this thesis because it is organizations within the diaspora that are involved in collective activities directed towards their homeland, not the diaspora as a whole. However, it is individuals that make up the organizations. A focus on individuals that are involved in these organizations is important because as we have seen the diaspora can be divided by a number of factors, and it is only by studying the individuals that one can get a better understanding of who the people participating in these activities are, and what their motivation for contributing is. In section 3.2 key traits of diasporas' identity is toughly discussed. What is important to make clear here is that a diaspora and a diaspora organization is made up by individuals. In this thesis these individuals and the organizations that they are involved in will be the level of analysis.

What is described as diasporas' collective involvement in transnational activities is in this thesis seen as conducted through organizations. Diaspora organizations are defined as

“[...] complex, formal, informal, or semi-formal organizations that articulate and pursue goals that are asserted to be representative of the interests and aspirations of the diaspora as a whole.” (Bush 2007: 19)

This definition gives room for a variety of organizations and associations including both formal and informal ones. This is in line with a Danish study of African associations where there were no strict criteria on the degree of formalization was used (Trans and Vammen 2008). However, with such a definition one might also include more loosely formed networks. To limit the scope of the thesis networks without a registered organizational name will not be looked into. An additional factor not covered by the definition is that the focus of this thesis will be on transnational diaspora organizations. Transnational activities are “[...] cross-border activities of an economic, political or socio-economical nature” (Snel et.al. 2006:289). These activities can be either direct or indirect (Al-Ali et.al. 2001).

Transnational organizations are in this thesis understood as organizations involved in cross-border activities between the host and the home country. Organizations that focus only on activities in the host country or internationally are therefore not looked into (Snel et.al. 2006). This distinction is made to limit the range of the thesis.

3.2 Diasporas' Identity and Integration

Identities are used to help classify and explain the world. A group identity can help classify social relations, and create a collective understanding of how to grasp and rate the importance of events that happen (Gould 1995, Jenkins 1996). Snel et.al. (2006:290) argues that the identity of a person refers to two basic questions in life; to whom do I belong, and how should I behave? All humans need to identify and feel belonging to a group. Group identity is created through inclusion and assimilation into one group, and a feeling of differentiation from another. Identity is established by an association with someone (Jenkins 1996). Individuals differ in their call for group belonging. Individual characteristics, values and socialization are factors that matter in determining a person's need for a group identity (Brewer 1991). These are key explanations or understandings of identity in the general literature. What does the literature point out to be key traits of diasporas' identity and how is this connected to integration?

About Diasporas' Identity

Originally the concept of diaspora was used to describe the dispersal of Jews from their homeland (Cohen 1997). In the first issue of the journal of Diaspora William Safran presented a diaspora which has become the basic referent point used to assess if a group is diasporic in nature or not (Reis 2004). It therefore serves as a suitable starting point for a discussion on the concept of diaspora and identity.

William Safran's definition of diaspora is as follows;

“expatriate minority communities whose members share several of the following characteristics: 1) they, or their ancestors, have been dispersed

from a specific original “centre” to two or more “peripheral”, or foreign, regions; 2) they retain a collective memory, vision, myth about their original homeland-its physical location, history and achievements; 3) they believe they are not- and perhaps cannot be-- fully accepted by their host society and therefore feel partly alienated and insulated from it; 4) they regard their ancestral homeland as their true, ideal home, and as the place to which they or their descendants would (or should) eventually return- when conditions are appropriate; 5) they believe that they should, collectively, be committed to the maintenance or restoration of their original homeland and to its safety and prosperity; and 6) they continue to relate, personally or vicariously, to that homeland in one way or another, and their ethnocommunal consciousness and solidarity are importantly defined by the existence of such a relationship.” (Safran 1990: 83-84)

Safran’s first point is that diasporas are people who have been dispersed from a homeland to two or more regions. Cohen (1997: 23-25) argues that the reason why people left their homeland matters, and want to expand the categories into people who have left their home country either by force, or voluntarily in connection to trade, work or colonial ambitions. Safran (1999: 264) and others (Adamson 2005, Faist 2000, Levitt 1998, Lyons 2007) disagrees with expanding the concept of diaspora to people who were not forcefully displaced by either a natural or man made disaster. If the disaster is war the group is called conflict-generated diasporas. These diasporas are argued to be created and sustained by having a specific set of traumatic memories based on their reason for dispersal (Adamson 2005, Lyons 2007).

The second point in Safran’s definition is about the creation of a collective memory of a homeland. According to Shuval (2000: 46) it is this attachment and loyalty to the homeland that distinguishes diasporas from migrants, not the reasons for their dispersal. Proponents for using conflict-generated diasporas as a category disagree and believe that this groups strong symbolic connection to their homeland exists

exactly because of their traumatic experiences of dispersal (Adamson 2005, Lyons 2007). An additional argument made in regards to Safrans original definition is that it lacks the point that homeland orientation can also be directed towards a home country that does not exist yet, and the creation of such a homeland (Cohen 1997).

The third point of Safran is that diasporas can not be accepted fully into the host society and therefore they feel disconnected from it. This view has been criticized on the grounds that although diasporas might have a troubled relationship with their new country they might also have “The possibility of a distinctive creative, enriching life in host countries with a tolerance for pluralism.” (Cohen 1997:26) However, most seem to agree that a characteristic of diaspora is a strong connection with the homeland which prevents assimilation into a new host country. “At a given moment in time, the sense of connection to a homeland must be strong enough to resist forgetting, assimilating or distancing” (Shuval 2000:43).

The fourth point, wish of return to a homeland, has been widely discussed, and it is questioned whether it is return itself or connections with and involvement in the host country that matters. The matter of return can be described as direct and physical, or implying continuously thought about the home country (Safran 1999). One might speak of a “re-turn” where one is not returning to live in the home country, but turning to the home country in thought, travel and assistance (Tölöyan 1996).

The fifth point of Safran is that diasporas are collectively committed to the maintenance and security of their homeland. “Most Diasporas demonstrate commitment to their homelands through repeated small-scale charitable acts” (Kent 2006: 457). Diasporas contribute to their home country because of an desire to help their chindship group (Byman et.al. 2001). This form of collective commitment can also be related to what has been called the materiality of diaspora where people feel responsible for their kind living in their home country (Werbner 2000). In relation to this, the question about what a home country constitutes comes up. One can not

take the answer for granted. A home country can be perceived and represented by one's country, nation, locality, clan or family (Kent 2006).

Reflections about what a home country constitutes are also relevant in regards to the last point of Safran's definition which says that the consciousness of a group is maintained through solidarity towards the homeland. In the postmodern tradition identity is not seen as static. It is thus, not only a reflection of the relationship towards a home country. Identity is seen as hybrid, and created through interaction with both the home and host country (Anthias 1998, Brah 1996, Clifford 1994).

As we have seen, diasporas' identity is connected to the question of assistance to the host country. There seems to be a consensus on that keeping a relationship with the home country is part of diasporas' identity. However, scholars disagree about the relevance of the relationship with the host country. Thus, the relationship between identity and involvement in collective transnational activities towards the home country needs to be looked into.

About Integration

As we have seen identity is crucial for understanding the concept of diasporas. Identity can be seen as static such as in Safran's definition. This understanding fits well with two traditional models of migration and adaptation to the host country. In the "settler model" migrants were thought to assimilate into the host society, and in the "temporary migrant model" migrants were believed to keep identifying with their home country (Castles 2002). This interpretation does not fit with an understanding of identity as something hybrid such as by Clifford (1994), Brah (1996) and Anthias (1998). Looking at the concept of integration might shed some view on this.

Integration is a multi-dimensional concept and scholars differ in what they see the relevant distinctions of it to be (Snel et. al. 2006). A much used distinction in the literature on integration and migration is dividing between structural and socio-cultural integration (Hall and Rostic`2008, Snel et. al. 2006). Socio-cultural

integration is a combination of social and cultural integration. Social integration refers to the informal contacts migrants have with natives, while cultural integration is the endorsement of the host countries moral standards and values (Snel et. al 2006:287). Structural integration relates to the 'social' positioning of migrants in relation to level of education, position in the labor market (Snel et. al 2006) and citizenship (Hall and Rostic`2008). Distinguishing between structural and cultural integration can be fruitful for the understanding of a multicultural society where "People might be integrated into society at a structural level (that is, the public domain) and at the same time keep their own culture and identity" (Wahlebeck 1999:17).

Opposite to integration is assimilation, which is "the process in which a minority group adopts the values and patterns of behavior of a majority group or host culture, ultimately becoming absorbed by the majority group" (Jary and Jary 1991:31-32). It is argued that the difference between assimilation and integration can be seen in the individuals' degree of keeping their identity. If a person from a minority is integrated the person can keep its identity. If a person is assimilated it means that the person will have the same identity as the majority (Wahlebeck 1999:13). These distinctions are relevant to the discussion of diasporas' identity. Are identities understood as hybrid, and created through interaction with both the home and host country (Anthias 1998, Brah 1996, Clifford 1994), this challenge the traditional models of migration and adaption to the host country. Distinguishing between structural and cultural integration will help take this hybrid identity formation into account.

As we have seen, the literature indicates a relationship between identity and integration. However, knowledge about this relationship is scarce and needs to be looked into.

4.0 Identity, Integration and Involvement

Individuals work collectively in organizations to pursue shared goals. They choose to work with others because they believe that this is the most efficient way of achieving these goals. Although the objectives organizations aim at achieving will benefit a wider public, it does not mean that the individuals involved might benefit from the changes as well (Johnson and Aseem 2007). Surely this general theory on involvement in organizations makes sense when it comes to individual diasporas and their desire to be involved in transnational organizations; however, key theories of diaspora behavior are not accounted for in this theory. What does the general literature on diasporas say?⁴

Diasporas involvement in their home country can be influenced by their desire to contribute, their capacity to contribute and their opportunity to contribute (Brinkerhoff 2008a, Esman 1986, Koser 2007). Identity and integration are identified in the literature as factors that might affect diasporas' desire to contribute, their capacity to contribute and their opportunity to contribute. In section 4.1 the relationship between identity and involvement is discussed. Section 4.2 looks at the connections between integration, identity and involvement in transnational organizations.

4.1 Identity Influencing Involvement?

There is a link between the identity as a diaspora and involvement in the home country. Diasporas are argued to be committed to contribute to their home country. This commitment might be related to a feeling of responsibility for their kind living in the home country. Diasporas' motivation for group solidarity might influence their desire to contribute collectively (Esman 1968). Thus, the ability to create a shared social identity is one of the factors that make successful mobilization of a group possible (Kent 2006, Pratkanis and Turner 1996).

⁴ When referring to the general literature on diaspora involvement literature using the concepts of transmigrants and migrants are also included.

Diasporas' identity is created through relationships with the homeland, international organizations, and host country societies and governments (Orozco 2008). This mix of lived experiences and characteristics acquired from their attachment to multiple countries characterizes diasporas' identities (Brinkerhoff 2008a, Brinkerhoff 2008b). Diasporas that settle in countries that embrace values that are different from what they are used to might struggle with finding an identity that fits expectations from their surroundings (Kusow 2007). Additionally, having to face these mixed expectations can result in a constant search for the right identity (Brinkerhoff 2008b). If the cultural differences between the migrant group and the host society are great the diaspora groups have bigger incentives to stick together, and the group identity will probably be long-lasting (Esman 1986). A complimentary explanation, also focusing on the role of identity, claim that secular attachments to the state are weaker among immigrants. Citizenship to a host state does not give a secure identity. Therefore they seek other attachments, like long-distance nationalism, to get a sense of identity and belonging (Kapur 2007).

Esman (1986:131) argues that discrimination in the host country might create stronger group identification, and as a result more cooperation. This lack of feeling of belonging to the host country makes their attachment to their homeland stronger. This gives them the identity that they lack in their new country. In addition this common identity makes them better able to handle marginalization faced in the host country (Kapur 2007).

To sum up, identifying with the home country might create incentives to contribute to it. There is a debate about creation of identity is influenced by the experiences in the host and home country. While some argue that people are motivated to participate in homeward oriented activities because of a lack of identity with the host country, others argue that identity is plural and one can have the feeling of belonging to more than one country. There is a need to look into the relationship between identity and involvement in transnational activities.

4.2 Integration Influencing Involvement?

“Practices of exclusion, discrimination or forced assimilation against immigrants can prevent integration and encourage a homeward orientation “ (Castles 2002:1161).

Diaspora groups’ level of integration and their identification and interest in the homeland might be related (Anderson 1992, Anderson 1994, Anderson 1999, Brinkerhoff 2008b, Castles 2002, Fuglerud 1999, Hall and Rostic’ 2008, Zunzer 2004). Whether it is those that are marginalized in the host country, or those who are well integrated in the host country that have a transnational orientation is not clear. What does the literature say on the relationships between structural and socio-cultural integration and participation in transnational activities?

The opportunities diasporas have to contribute matters for their involvement in transnational activities. The opportunity structure is marked by the degree of freedom and the space for diaspora groups to organize (Esman 1986). Diasporas’ ability to take use of opportunity structures in the host country varies according to their access to resources (Uphoff 2005). Structural and socio-cultural integration can be seen as such resources and might be relevant for diasporas’ capacity to contribute in diaspora organizations.

Structural integration is seen as a factor that might influence diasporas’ participation in transnational activities. The length of time a diaspora group has stayed in the host country might affect the possibilities they have to acquire the skills needed to succeed in the new host country. Since older diaspora networks are more established they are probably more secure about their place in the host country (Kent 2006). An active role in associations demands a certain degree of knowledge of the host society. Length of stay might therefore matter for participation in organizations (Fangen 2007b). In addition length of stay might influence the connection with the home country. Newer diaspora individuals might feel a stronger

association with their home country than older diasporas (Butler 2001). As an example one has found an interest gap between the first and second generation Somalis. The first generation is still highly politicized and interested in Somali affairs while the second does not have the same interest (Zunzer 2004).

Migration status is another issue that might influence peoples ability and willingness to contribute towards homeland development (Kent 2006, Rigby 2006). Diasporas who are actively involved in their home country can face the risk of being questioned about their loyalty to the host country. This can threaten their status and security (Esman 1986). It is easier to be involved in the home country if one knows that ones own right to stay in the host country is secured (Kent 2006). If one has the possibility to travel to the home country this might also make it easier to establish and follow up projects there. The legal status of an individual can influence both these two points (Kent 2006). Thus, one should expect that legal status in the host country matters for which individuals that are engaged in organizations.

Another factor that might matter is education. Education from the host country can be seen as a way of assimilation into the host country and therefore one could expect that the more individuals have been educated in the host country, the less likely they are to be oriented towards their homeland (Guarnio et.al. 2003). However, education is found to increase political participation worldwide (Lipset 1960). Higher education might lead to an increase in interest and participation in homeland oriented activities (Guarnio et.al. 2003). Uncertainty exists on what role education might play in influencing participation in transnational activities.

The last factor regarding structural integration that might influence diasporas' participation in transnational organizations is status. Lack of status in the host country is one of the things that motivate people to take part in activities in the home country (Hall et.al. 2007, Trager 2001). Thus, involvement in transnational

organizations can give individuals a feeling of importance in both host and home country. This might be one of the factors that motivate them.

There exists uncertainty on the influence of socio-cultural integration and participation in transnational activities. A study of migrants in the Netherlands found that “Groups that are (perceived to be) culturally different from mainstream society appear to have a harder time combining transnational involvement with cultural integration” (Snel et. at 2006:304). Based on this study one could assume that socio-cultural integration does not encourage transnational involvement. However, others argue that socio-cultural integration is influencing the goals of the organizations through the values and attitudes the diasporas have gained in the host country (Kleist 2008, Zunzer 2004). Socio-cultural integration might also create more opportunities to get funding for their projects (Kleist 2009, Trans and Vammen 2008). These issues on the influence of socio-cultural integration will be discussed in part 5.0 and 6.0 in this thesis.

Empirical research shows that the two forms of integration are strongly related. High structural integration is associated with high socio-cultural integration (Snel et.at. 2006). Both structural and socio-cultural integration might contribute to diasporas’ engagement in the home country. De Haas (2006:2) argues that

“In contrast to classical conceptions of migrant integration, the integration of migrants in receiving countries can not only coincide with but also even tends to amplify their involvement in the development of countries of origin. After all, successful and ‘integrated’ migrants generally also possess the attitudes, know-how, rights and financial capacity for setting up enterprises, participating in public debates and establishing development projects in their regions and countries of origin.”

This theory gets support from Denmark where recent research shows that diasporas' engaged in organizations working for development in their home country usually are employed and have been living in the host country for many years.

“[...]the key persons in development-oriented associations also tend to be involved in other associations, often including integration projects, showing that involvement in the Danish society and transnational engagement is not contradictory but well might go hand in hand.” (Kleist 2009: 3)

Koser and Van Hear (2003: 13) also support these arguments and point out that better integration tends to empower refugees and thereby increase their capacity to participate. However, in a study from the Netherlands integration did not seem to be of crucial importance. Migrant groups that are poorly integrated into the Dutch society are not more involved in transnational activities and do not identify stronger with their home country than well-integrated groups. The study also found that “Transnational activities occur equally among all migrants, independent of level of education, social status or length of stay” (Snel et.al. 2006:294-295).

As this literature overview has shown, the questions of how identity and integration matters for diasporas' participation in transnational organizations are explained in a number of ways. The question of identity and integration are essential. How does identity and integration matter for people's involvement? Is it the least integrated who has the desire to participate in activities towards their homeland, or it the most integrated that have the skills and ability to be engaged in these activities? These questions need to be looked into.

5.0 Identity, Integration and Aims of the Organizations

Diasporas can contribute to peace, development and war in their home countries. They can be involved in their home countries through direct or indirect activities. In direct activities the focus is directed directly at the home country, while in indirect activities focus on the home country through international actors or actors in the home country (Horst and Gaas 2009, Østegaard-Nielsen 2003).

The organizations aims and goals are not always clear. Defining which transnational activities that contributes to peace and which activities that contribute to war is a challenge. Østegaard-Nielsen (2006:2) makes an important point when she states that; “Irresponsible long distant nationalists for some are freedom fighters for others.” Recent development in Norway shows how crucial this question is. In January 2008 three Somalis were arrested in Norway accused of supporting terrorism. A number of Somali organizations made a statement arguing that the accused people were supporting organizations working for liberation of Somalia, not terrorist organizations (VG 2008). The distinctions between diaspora organizations transnational activities that are for peaceful purposes and those targeted against conflict are not clear-cut.

An additional point is that activities aimed at peacebuilding and development does not always lead to their desired goals (Bush 2007). Development activities might be a “double-edged sword” which can both support peace but also intensify conflicts (Orjuela 2008:436). As an example one of the main factors of the conflict in Somalia is the unequal distribution and lack of resources (Horst and Gaas 2009). Organizations in general might contribute to peace and political stability through developing livelihoods locally (Mohamoud 2006). However, the organizations that aim to create stability and development by channeling financial means through clan structures might instead create further conflict (Horst and Gaas 2009). The question of the aims and goals of organizations is complex.

Traditionally civil society organizations are seen as actors contributing to development assistance in two ways. If the state is weak or non-existing, funds are channel through civil society organizations to reach the public with basic services. Then the civil society organizations serve as basic service providers. Secondly, they can be seen and used as means for improving the current state of the country. Then their role is to push for economic, social and political change (Paffenholz and Spork 2006). Mohamoud (2006:8) argues that diasporas are mostly involved in civic-oriented activities. With civic-oriented involvement he means activities such as community-oriented development and business investment and other projects that are non-political. In a study of transnational African diaspora organizations in Denmark the most common projects were social projects where the aim was to reach the public with basic services such as supporting schools, universities or hospitals and sending collective remittances to support victims of human or natural disasters. Some of the projects were also designed to make a positive impact on the economic situation for the people involved such as micro-credit projects. This study seems to be in line with Mohamoud's (2006:8) finding that Somali diasporas are first and foremost involved in civic-oriented activities towards their home country.

In research of Somali diaspora organizations in Norway it was also found a greater focus on humanitarian rather than political issues. The DIASPEACE report (Warneke et.al. 2009:20) questions whether or not this lack of focus on political issues is real, or if it reflects that the organizations do not wish to share this information in public. A number of organizations in Denmark pointed out that they avoided political activities because of fear that it would create factions within the organizations. However, 4 out of the 16 organizations were engaged in political activities (Trans and Vammen 2008). As we have seen diasporas might contribute to their home countries in different ways and with different aims. Why is some aiming to support peace while others aim at supporting conflict?

Identity is one of the central explanations of why diasporas might contribute to positive or negative developments in their home country (Merz et.al. 2007).

Among those who argue that it is the most marginalized that will have a transnational orientation it seems to be expected that the contributions of the diasporas will be negative. Loss of status and discrimination might be driving forces that motivate diasporas' engagement and attitudes towards their home countries (Kapur 2007). Hall et.al. (2007:14) explain the argument in the following way;

“The passionate and blind support in favor of a conflict driven solution is very often observed among the diaspora groups, which have failed to economically integrate well in their host countries.”

Anderson (1992, 1994) has a more nuanced view regarding who that might be long-distance nationalist. At the one hand he describes them as well settled in the host country with a citizenship and successful in terms of economy. At the other hand, they can also be politically and economically marginalized. However, the key trait of long-distance nationalism is that it has negative consequences. Anderson (1992: 327) explains the characteristics of person and activities the following way;

“[...] well and safely positioned in the First World, he can send money and guns, circulate propaganda, and build intercontinental computer information circuits, all of which can have incalculable consequences in the zones of their ultimate destinations.”

Contrasting Anderson are those who argue that the activities of diasporas can be positive. They argue that structural and socio-cultural integration will positively influence the goals of diasporas' involvement in their home countries. Diasporas socio-cultural integration might matter for which goals the organizations have. Diasporas can experience the values of democracy, individualism and freedom in their host countries and these experiences can be used as an asset for democratization and development work in their home countries. (Kleist 2008, Zunzer 2004) This is supported by Hall et. al. (2007:13) who argue that

“During periods of transitions, diaspora becomes a source of new ideas, values, skills and know-how important for the creation of state institutions, civil society, and infrastructure.”

These thoughts were supported by diasporas themselves in a case study of Somalis in Denmark where several of those engaged in development activities emphasized that they could make a difference because of their new ideas about democracy and peaceful means of governance (Kleist 2008).

To sum up, transnational diaspora organizations can influence peaceful developments or encourage conflict in their home countries. Their activities take many forms but current research show that the organizations involved in development work first and foremost are involved in civic oriented activities. There is a need to shed future light on the question of whether diasporas’ aims are those of long distance nationalists or peace makers, and how this is related to integration and identity. While Anderson (1992, 1994) argue that the contributions of diasporas is negative regardless of their integration, Zunzer (2004), Kleist (2008) and Hall et.al. (2007) argue diasporas can become influenced by the values in their host countries and because of this contribute to their home country in a positive manner. There seems to be a distinction in the literature between what type of activities these two groups will conduct. This thesis will contribute to this debate by discussing the aims of diaspora organizations in light of the identity and integration of the people involved in these organizations.

6.0 Identity, Integration and the Institutional Framework

The institutional framework in a country can influence the activities the diaspora organizations are involved in (Horst 2008a, Horst 2008b, De Haas 2006, Trans and Vammen 2008). Institutional framework is in this thesis understood as the funding and support opportunities available for transnational diaspora organizations. This is in accordance with how institutional framework is used by Trans and Vammen (2008:15) in their study of African organizations in Denmark. A focus on the institutional framework should not be understood as if diaspora organizations are waiting around for help and better funding structures. Many diaspora groups are involved in activities in their home country without any support from the host country. Thus, looking at the institutional framework is not an attempt to disempower diaspora organizations, but to see how it might influence the actions taken (De Haas 2006). The literature discusses three aspects of how the institutional framework can influence diasporas engagement in transnational organizations. For some of these aspects identity and integration is argued to have an influence.

The first point is how the institutional framework is designed to give the diaspora organizations opportunities to apply for funding. Generous funding opportunities for diaspora organizations might increase the opportunities for diasporas to be involved in their home country (Horst 2008a, De Haas 2006). In Norway it is an official aim to involve diaspora organizations in this work (St.meld. nr. 15 2009-2009). In the DIASPEACE project (Warnecke et.al. 2009) it was found that the institutional framework is influencing Somali diaspora organizations in Norway. The authorities' attention on certain topics such as Female Genital Mutilation or the use of the narcotic leaf qaad and the following funding opportunities might have influenced the aims of some organizations. If the aims of some transnational diaspora organizations are directed by available funding possibilities this can hinder true diaspora engagements that may introduce new ideas of what development is. Brinkerhoff (2008c) and Horst (2008a) argue that diasporas might have a different understanding of what development is and which activities that are needed in to achieve it. In addition, too strict criteria for receiving founding might hamper

cooperation between the government and their traditional partners and diaspora organizations. In a study of diaspora organizations in Holland it was found that;

“A number of diaspora organizations feared that partnership with Western agencies would limit the impact on their existing activities [...] Most interviewees preferred to maintain their independence without the inevitable interference, strict rules, and frameworks imposed by Dutch aid organizations.” (Grooth and Gibbons 2007:446)

The second point is that diaspora groups seem to face more difficulties when it comes to finding their way to, and receiving funding than other Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs) (De Haas 2006, Trans and Vammen 2008). Diaspora organizations lack of resources to fulfill the formal conditions for projects to be eligible for funding, and that these organizations often are outside the flow of information are challenges to diaspora engagement (De Haas 2006). Socio-cultural integration and structural integration might matter for diasporas' possibility to receive funding. In Denmark socio-cultural integration is found to be of importance because networks of natives and knowledge of the host country are factors that make the transnational projects of diaspora organizations more likely to succeed (Kleist 2009, Trans and Vammen 2008).

The third focus in the literature is on funding and clans. Somali diaspora organizations are often managed by particular clans (Kusow and Bjork 2007). The funding structures for diaspora organizations or projects are often based on principles of equal distribution or inclusion of all groups. Support can be given equally to all the major groups identified in the conflict, or one can rely on an umbrella structure where representatives from all parties are to cooperate with each other (Horst and Gaas 2009). In some European countries a large number of Somali organizations are found. This reflects clan divisions and this might result in difficulties with getting funding because of the organizations small size, duplication of projects, and lack of wish to co-operate with other Somali organizations

(Hopkins 2006, Kleist 2009). An example of that the institutional framework can influence diasporas' collective involvement is found in Toronto. Here donor pressure resulted in the establishment of an umbrella organization (Hopkins 2006)⁵.

A way to increase diasporas' positive contribution to their home country is to make them communicate and cooperate in their host country (Katunaric 2007). Activities aimed at building trust within the diaspora community will create a win-win oriented thinking which will contribute to development in the home country (Zunzer 2004). By making diasporas' cooperate across clan lines one might decrease the number of organizations, and make them find common goals to cooperate about. This will make it easier to receive funding, and create cooperation between clans that might encourage similar developments in the host country. However, not all agree to this reasoning. According to Horst (2008a:4) the principles of equal distribution or inclusion of all groups to receive funding are not positive in the case of Somalis.

“This policy does great harm, because it does not match political and economic realities on the ground and increases the conflict over resources along clan lines, solidifying dividing lines that in Somalia are often quite fluid.”

To summarize, the institutional framework in the host country can matter for how diasporas contribute to their home country and how they cooperate in the host country. Funding structures might hinder diasporas in contributing to development on their own terms. The outcomes of using the institutional framework as a tool to try to influence the use of clan affiliation in diaspora organizations is not clear. Some argue that it might contribute to cooperation with other groups within the diaspora, and have a positive effect on the developments in Somalia. Others argue that it does not reflect the reality on the ground in Somalia and might strengthen the

⁵ These examples are from associations working on issues in the host land not in the home country and this distinction might matter. However many organizations have activities in the host country and in the home country, thus making this distinction less clear (Trans and Vammen 2009).

already existing divisions between clans. Identity and integration might also matter in whether or not the diasporas are able, and want to use the funding and support structures available. There is a need to take a look at how the institutional framework in a country influences diaspora organizations and how this is related to their identity and level of integration.

7.0 Methodology

The data for this thesis has been gathered by semi-structured qualitative interviews. Important characteristic of the topics in this thesis indicates that a qualitative approach should be taken. Firstly, one should use a qualitative approach when the subject matter is ill defined or not well understood (Ritchie 2003). As has been shown in the literature overview diasporas and their aims and involvement in transnational diaspora organizations are subjects that are neither well defined nor well understood. A second reason for choosing a qualitative approach is if the subject of research is complex, deeply rooted knowledge than can only be found by exploring the participant's personal understanding of the subject. Additionally it should be used if the information needs to be gathered from people who have a specialized role in the society (Ritchie 2003). Understanding how identity, integration and involvement in diaspora organizations are related are complex questions. This type of information can only be acquired by giving people involved in transnational diaspora organizations the possibility to express their own views.

“ Because of its facility to examine subjects in depth, qualitative research provides a unique toll for studying what lies behind, or underpins, a decision, attitude, behavior or other phenomena. It also allows associations that occur in people's thinking and acting - and the meaning these have for people- to be identified. These in turn may indicate some explanatory- even causal-link. ” (Ritchie 2003:28)

In qualitative research one distinguishes between naturally occurring data, or generated data. With naturally occurred data the subject of investigation needs to be understood in a “real world” context. Generated data should be used when one is looking for “[...] insight into people's own perspectives on and interpretation of their believes and behaviors- and, most crucially, an understanding of the meanings that they attach to them “(Ritchie 2003:36). Discussing identity and integration in relation to the aims of organizations, peoples' motivations to participate in these organizations, and how the institutional framework can influence diasporas

collective actions are questions where people's own perspectives and thoughts are needed to get a deep and detailed understanding of the subjects of investigation. This makes generated data the most appropriate for this thesis.

To get generated data, in-depth interviews were used. The strength with in-depth interviews is the possibility of combining structure with flexibility (Legard et.al. 2003). Out of the types of in-depth interviews semi-structured interviews were conducted. With semi-structured interviews one is sure of that the topics of concern are touched upon during the interview, while the opportunity to ask for more detailed descriptions when necessary is still present (Legard et.al. 2003). A topic guide with central themes was used during the interviews.⁶ Since the point with this form of interview is to get the participants own ideas and meanings the data should be captured and presented in its natural form (Legard et.al. 2003). To assure this a tape recorder was used when agreed upon by the interviewees. In the case where participants did not want to have the interview taped notes were taken during the interview. The notes were written to stay as close to the interviewees language as possible. In all of the three interviews where notes were taken the notes were sent back to the interviewee for confirmation of that their opinions had been expressed in the correct way.⁷

7.1 Population and Sample

When choosing research settings and populations to study one should identify those that "by virtue of their relationship with the research questions are able to provide the most relevant, comprehensive and rich information" (Lewis 2003:49). The sample for this research is a non-probability sample where "units are deliberately selected to reflect particular features of or groups within the sampled population." (Ritchie et.al. 2003:78) The characteristics of the population are used as a basis of selection, thus the sample is not, and is not intended to be statistically representative. This form of sampling is called purposive sampling. According to

⁶ Enclosed in the appendix 2

⁷ One of the interviews was confirmed. For the two others there were no response. It is likely to believe that if the interviewees felt that they had been misunderstood they would have given feedback about that. Therefore these interviews were used in the thesis in the same way as the others.

Rubin and Rubin (1995:66) there are three requirements for choosing people for this purpose; they should have knowledge about the subject of investigation, they should be willing to talk, and they should represent the range of points of views.

The sampling was done in two stages. Firstly, it was decided which organizations the individual interviewees should be chosen from. Secondly, the individuals to speak to were selected. When choosing organizations the aim was to get a heterogeneous sample. This is a sample where phenomena that vary widely from each other are included (Ritchie et.al. 2003). That meant including transnational organizations that differ in areas such as what region of Somalia people in the organization are from, clan composition, size, age, formalization, and level of emphasis on transnational activities compared with host country oriented activities. When looking for individuals to interview key persons in their organizations were chosen. The aim was to get diversity in other characteristics like gender, length of stay in Norway, citizenship or level of integration into the Norwegian society. This diversity will help identifying the full range of factors or features associated with the phenomenon and give a greater opportunity to identify their different contributory elements of influence (Ritchie et.al. 2003).

Accessibility to data is a central question, and said with the words of Bechhofer and Paterson (2000:71) research design is always a matter of informed compromise. Due to practical reasons the organizations contacted were all in the eastern part of Norway. Since there is no publicly available list of all the Somali organizations in Norway a list of all the migrant organizations in the capital that has applied for funding (Oslo Kommune 2008) was used as a starting point. Contacts were also established at seminars where individuals engaged in diaspora organizations attended. Knowledge about the organizations and key persons in the organizations was limited to the information obtained from the Internet or discussions with people familiar with Somali organizations. It was therefore decided that a person's position in the organization was more important than other characteristics. Their central role in the organizations made them the actors that would provide the richest and most

relevant information. This made it possible to tell the participants that the reason for why they were asked for the interview was that they were knowledgeable in the area of interest of the thesis. According to Rubin and Rubin (1995:198) this lets the interviews know that they have been chosen for a legitimate reason and helps build confidence that they can answer the questions they are to be asked.

These key persons were then asked if they knew other people in their own or other organization with the characteristics needed for answering the questions of this thesis. This technique is known as a snowballing. A danger with the snowballing technique is that people might know other people that are involved in similar activities as they, and therefore the sample might not be as diverse as intended (Ritchie et.al. 2003). Steps were taken to avoid this by using the snowballing technique as a supplement to finding organizations based on the list from Oslo Kommune, tips from people with knowledge about Somali organizations, and contacts found at seminars where Somali organizations were present. Interviews were conducted until there was not much new information introduced in the interviews. This is known as the saturation point in qualitative interviewing (Rubin and Rubin 1995). Since each organization and person represents something slightly different, knowing when the one should say that the saturation point is reached is difficult. However, after conducting 17 interviews in 16 organizations the amount of new information received during the interviews was limited.

The interviews were conducted in the period between August 2009 and October 2009. Out of the 17 interviews 12 were recorded, 2 were lost due to technical reasons and 3 were written down by notes. All the 17 interviews were used to get a general picture of the organizations and individuals involved, however, only the 15 that were recorded or written down during the interview was used in the analysis. There were eleven males and six females. The age of the interviewees varied from 20 to 58. Eight of them were working, while the rest were either students or not working for various reasons. Four had a master degree from a Norwegian university, nine had some sort of higher education, and two had attended obligatory

adult education⁸. The interviewees came from different regions in Somalia and Norway.⁹ These basic background characteristics can not be used to generalize on typical characteristics for key persons in transnational diaspora organizations in Norway, but can be used to form a background picture of those interviewed for this thesis.

7.2 The Researcher as a Tool

When conducting qualitative research, the researcher is a research tool. It is therefore important to discuss some points about the researcher and her role during the gathering and analysis of the data for this thesis. The relationship between the interviewer and participant can be of importance to the success of an interview (Lewis 2003). The characteristics of the researcher can influence how comfortable the participant feel and what information he or she is willing share. If the interviewer and the participant have very similar characteristics the interviewee might explain less about the subject in question. The interviewee might believe that what is said will have implicit meaning for the researcher, and thus, does not bother to give an in-depth explanation. In such cases speaking with someone that is from a different background can make the participant provide fuller explanations. If the topics studied are sensitive, people might prefer speaking with someone who is clearly outside their community. Power relationships between the interviewer and the researcher might also influence the information gathered. If the power balance is great the interviewees might feel uncomfortable and not be as willing to answer questions (Lewis 2003).

The people interviewed in this thesis were all key persons within their organization and therefore in the position of sharing information and offering insights. It is therefore no reason to expect that there was a power balance that would make the participants uncomfortable in the setting. However that I, the interviewer, is Norwegian made some of the interviewees see me in a particular way. In one of the first interviews I had, I was asked to be neutral when writing my thesis. The

⁸ Voksenopplæring

⁹ For more information see appendix 2

interviewee was tired of all the negative and one-sided focus on Somalis in the media and apparently questioned if I, a Norwegian girl, also had this agenda. When asking questions about identity during the interviews the interviewees sometimes used my physical characteristics or expected experiences as a Norwegian, to explain what made them feel less Norwegian, or not looked upon as Norwegians. In these ways the interviews were affected by the characteristics of the interviewer.

It is difficult to say how this affected the information gathered. It might have made people more reluctant to say things about Norwegians or Norway which they thought a Norwegian person would react to. It might also have made them answer in ways that they thought were the correct way to answer a Norwegian. If this is right, one could assume that a person with a different background might have got slightly different answers. However, it was made clear prior to and during the interviews, that the research was conducted for a master thesis, and that all organizations and names of participants would be kept anonyms. This was done to make sure that the interviewee would feel comfortable in that no one would be able to trace the answers given back to them. Information about that the interviews were conducted for a master thesis might also have assured the interviewees that the information given would not be misused.

In some of the interviews language was a challenge. The interviewees could choose between having the interviews in English or Norwegian. It is clearly a weakness of the interviews that some of the participants did not have the opportunity to express themselves in their native tongue. However, using an interpreter could have created other and more severe challenges. The interviewees might not be comfortable sharing sensitive information with people from the same background as them present. This could have made it even more difficult to create the trust needed for the interviews to be successful. One of the interviews was conducted in English, while the rest was done in Norwegian. Language was also an issue when it came to the analyses. In qualitative research one is aiming to use the words of the interviewees to provide thick descriptions (Lewis and Richie 2003). Since the aim

of this thesis is to look at identity and integration and how it relates to involvement in transnational diaspora organizations it is clear that how the interviewees use and express themselves in Norwegian matters. Language can be one indicator of integration. If the quotations used in the analysis were translated into English one would lose some of the authenticity of the language of the interviewees. By doing this one would lose a part of the information the quotations give about the interviewee. The quotations are therefore presented in the language that they were recorded in. In Appendix 4 there are translations of the quotations into English. This is done so that also English speaking readers can understand the meanings and content of the quotations. This approach was also used by Pirkkalainen (2005) in her master thesis.

When conducting the interviews, and during the analysis the researcher should, as put by Janestick (2000: 384), have an open but not empty mind. This approach was aimed at during the interviews by that the researcher followed the semi-structured topic guide, while at the same time being open for that additional topics would be brought up. The questions asked were non-leading questions, and in addition, the researcher did not share much personal information or information about the subjects of investigation. This was done as an attempt not to influence the views of the interviewees. However, personal interpretation does matter in both the research setting and in analyzing the data.

“[...] personal interpretations are important both in terms of study participants’ perspectives of reality, and in terms of researchers’ understanding and portrayal of study participants’ views” (Snape and Spencer 2005:20).

About 1/3 of the interviewees asked to get a copy of the thesis. Writing about issues like identity, integration and home country involvement can be sensitive. Knowing that your interviewees will read your analysis might influence your work. The steps taken to avoid a biased analysis were to stay close to the words of the interviewers,

and discuss this up against previous theory and empirical findings. This is connected to the reliability and validity of the research findings.

7.3 Generalization, Reliability and Validity

To what degree one can generalize the findings from a study is an essential question in social science. Generalization here is understood to be that “[...] the findings from one study based on a sample can be said to be of relevance beyond the sample and context of the research itself [...]” (Ritchie and Lewis 2005:269). Generalizations can’t be made at the individual level but at the level of categories, concepts and explanations. The focus should not be on whether or not the findings can be generalized globally, but whether or not the knowledge produced can be transferred to other relevant situations and contexts (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009).

There are no agreed upon rules of the process of conducting qualitative research that can be generalized. Whether or not research findings can be generalized depends on the reliability and validity of the research (Ritchie and Lewis 2005). “If the research is valid, it closely reflects the world being described.” (Rubin and Rubin 1995:85) Is the research reliable it means that researchers studying the same arena will have the same observations (Rubin and Rubin 1995). Rubin and Rubin (1995:85) argue that the standard indicators on whether or not research is valid and reliable do not fit well with a qualitative approach. Instead they believe that one should aim for transparency, consistency-coherence, and communicability in the data collection and analysis to get valid and reliable research.

With transparency the point is that the reader should see the basic process of data collection. In this thesis the reader has been told how the organizations and individual interviewees were chosen. The topic guide used during the interviews, and the index applied when identifying themes and concepts in the analysis are found in the appendix.¹⁰ In addition all original transcripts of the interviews have been kept. During analyses and writing the researcher stayed close to the data, and

¹⁰ See appendix 2 for the topic guide. See appendix 3 for the index.

it was attempted to show as much as possible of the procedures that led to the conclusions of the thesis (Seal 1999).

For a research to be credible one should show that ideas and responses that appeared to be inconsistent were checked out and are understood.

“In demonstrating consistency, the researcher need not show that peoples’ beliefs are fully coherent or that interviewees told some idealized version of the truth. But the researcher does have to show that he or she bothered to check out inconsistencies. “(Rubin and Rubin 1995: 89-90)

During the interviews inconsistencies were checked out in a polite manner by asking the interviewees to explain in future detail what they meant. Asking the person in a careful and courtesy way is according to Rubin and Rubin (1995:89) the best technique to approach inconsistencies during interviews.

The last point is communicability. Communicability means that the way the findings are presented feel real to the participants, and to the readers of the thesis (Rubin and Rubin 1995). To achieve this, the analysis is full of passages where the interviewees own words are used to give the analysis depth and richness. This is known as thick descriptions (Lewis and Richie 2003). To assure thick description the interviewees own language is directly sited, with limited editing, to preserve their authentic language.

Kvale and Brinkmann (2009: 248-249) argue that validation should not be assessed only by the final product of a research, but understood as the entire process of research. As has become clear from this discussion, the question of reliable and valid data and analysis has been of key concern and has influenced how the interviews were conducted and the way the data is presented. The findings in this thesis are not representative in a statistical way of the transnational Somali diaspora organizations in Norway, or the people involved in them. However, because the

data is collected and analyzed to assure both validity and reliability the finding can have relevance beyond the sample and the context of research in form of the concepts and explanations it offers.

8.0 Identities and Integration

The aim of this chapter is to look into the first sub question; *how are identity and integration influencing each other?* Section 8.1 discusses this question by showing how strategies of identity creation are found to be related to integration.

8.1 Strategies of Identity Creation and the Relationship with Integration

In a study of identity among Somalis in Norway Katrinie Fangen (2007a) describes three strategies that her interviewees took regarding establishing an identity in Norway. The first category is those who adapt or aim to adapt to Norwegian culture. The second strategy is that one tries to mix the best of both cultures, while the third strategy is to identify oneself as always Somali. These ways of identification was also present among the interviewees of this study. As this chapter will show, some of the factors identified in the theoretical part of this thesis as structural and socio-cultural integration are relevant when discussing diaspora identities.

Adaption to Norwegian Culture and Identity

The aim to adapt to Norwegian culture is interesting when seen in light of what some argue is a characteristic of a diaspora; being disconnected from the host country. Diasporas strong connection with the homeland is argued to prevent assimilation into the host country. With assimilation one is adopting the values and culture of the host country. Eventually one is absorbed by the majority group (Jary and Jary 1991). In this study none of the interviewees said that they identified only as Norwegian, but some gave examples of that they felt more connected to Norwegian culture than Somali culture.

”Jeg føler meg begge deler. Jeg har bodd her så lenge at jeg føler meg som mye mer del av den norske kultur. Både når det gjelder personlighet og tankegang. Når det gjelder kultur er jeg nærmere norsk. Når du bor i et land i over 10 år må du akseptere at det er en stor del av livet ditt” (Interviewee 16).¹

That length of time in Norway might influence the adaption of Norwegian values is also found by Fangen (2007a). The explanation seems to be that length of stay in itself will influence an adaption to Norwegian values. However, length of time in Norway might not be the only aspect that matters. The general attitude that one should try to adapt to the host countries values were found, among some of the interviewees regardless of length of stay in Norway. It was argued that Norwegian and Somali values were quite similar.

“There are very few things I do not do. For example I do not eat svin. I do not drink for example. So we have common values. More than 99 percent. And we have a variation in maybe 0.1 percent or maybe let’s say 1 percent. But all other things we share. Don’t insult people. [...]These are common values” (Interviewee 9).

Fangen (2007a) also found the perception that one should try to adapt to the Norwegian society among those who she described as ‘trying to become as Norwegian as possible’. If the values in the host countries are seen as similar to the ones one already has, it might be easier to adapt to them. Kusow (2007) argues that if the values of the host country and home country are very different this might make it difficult to find an identity. Norwegian culture and values are not seen as a threat or necessary an opposition to Somali values. Not seeing a big difference between the values of the host country and home country might make the combination of endorsement of the host countries values with ones identity easier. The same man as explains above how he sees Norwegian and Somali values to be similar describes that he feels Norwegian because of his residence status in the country, that he speaks the language and that he understands the social codes in Norway. Thus he points to aspects of what is defined as structural and socio-cultural integration to explain why he feels Norwegian. Although he will always feel partly Somali he expresses a wish to adapt to the country where he wants to spend the rest of his life.

“And for me I got residency, I got study. I got social acceptance. I got social understanding. I got many things. I felt like that I am still Somali. I will be forever Somali. But on the other hand I have a second country which I feel that is my future country.[...] So Norway is not like any other country to me” (Interviewee 9).

Wahlebeck (1999) argues that assimilation is having the same identity as the majority. As this discussion has shown these interviewees do try to adapt to Norwegian culture, but don't identify with being merely Norwegian. Shuval (2000: 43) argues that the connection to the homeland will prevent assimilation. The connection with the home country will keep the diasporas from forgetting or distancing themselves from their homeland. The participants in this study were active in organizations with a transnational orientation. Out of those that expressed that they had adopted to a Norwegian way of thought there were no indicators of that they had lost a connection to their home country. This goes against Butler's (2001) argument that diasporas which have stayed longer in country will feel less of a connection to their home country. As an example, the same interviewee as identified him self as more a part of Norwegian culture than Somali culture in the quotation at the start of this section, described his contact with Somalia the following way;

”Jeg har vært der flere ganger i de siste årene. Jeg har mye kontakt med moren min i Somalia, det somaliske miljøet i Norge, og utenfor Norge” (Interviewee 16).²

If assimilation is having the same identity as the majority, it is clearly not how these interviewees feel. Integration on the other hand means that one can keep ones own identity. Thus, staying long in, identifying with, or feeling a belonging to the host country does not necessary mean that one loses the link to the home country. A adaption to Norwegian values does not necessary equal assimilation. As we have seen one can adapt to Norwegian values but still identify as both Somali and

Norwegian. These points are line with Cohen's (1997:26) argument that it is possible to combine both an identity and solidarity towards the host and home country.

Mixed identities

The other category identified by Fangen (2007a) is mixing the best of both cultures. The interviewees experienced this differently. Some saw it like two separate identities. One is both Somali and one is Norwegian. One interviewee describes how he switches between the two cultures when he is at home and when he is in the local community the following way;

“Jeg går i somaliske klær. Jeg praktiserer min religiøs. Jeg snakker somalisk flytende. Og det er akkurat som å være i Somalia når du er hjemme liksom. Går du utenfor døra så er du en del av lokalsamfunnet. Jeg er trener for jentelaget der jentene mine, døtrene mine går. Vi går på ski, tur og deltar i aktiviteter sånn som alle andre. Lokale aktiviteter som alle andre. Og det er jo det som er så bra i en så liten plass er at du kan være både norsk og somali samtidig” (Interviewee 10).³

The idea of hybrid identities has been criticized because it might imply that one identity is stronger or more present than the other. One does not have two identities, but one identity where there is room for both (Fangen 2007a). This attitude was also found among some of the interviewees. They argued that one is not both Somali and Norwegian but one it one identity; Norwegian-Somali.

“Jeg er på engelsk jeg kan si litt som two in one. Her jeg lever i Norge og nå jeg vant meg her. Og jeg har en jeg kjenner mye norsk folk og norsk system og norsk liv og norsk regjering og norsk og norsk og norsk. Så nå er jeg en av dem. Så ja, og nå er jeg en av dem. Jeg vet det. Jeg er en av de norske folk. Så sånn er det. Men andre ting. Jeg er somalisk. Jeg er født å være somali og jeg blir fortsatt somali. Og sånn er det” (Interviewee 6).⁴

Both these two understandings of diasporas' identity stand in contrast to the traditional forms of identity creation among diasporas where one either identified with the home or the host country (Castles 2002).

As discussed previously Kusow (2007) and Brinkerhoff (2008b) points to that if the values of the home country and the host country are very different it might be more difficult to find an identity that fits both these cultures. This might result in a constant search for the right identity. This opinion was found among some of the interviewees. It was presented as a feeling of not belonging to or knowing either Norwegian or Somali culture one hundred percent. One feel both Somali and Norwegian, however one is not hundred percent of either. One young man expresses how this makes him feel like he is left in no mans land.

“Men for oss innvandrere som er vokst opp i Norge så er vi på grensen mellom ingenmannsland da. Så du har jo norsk språk og norsk kultur og du har jo bodd her. Samtidig så har du tilhørighet til kulturen din og familien din og språket ditt. Men du har ikke hundre prosent begge to. Jeg snakker ikke perfekt somalisk. Det gjør jeg ikke. Jeg forstår ikke hundre prosent, ikke sant, hvordan den somaliske kulturen er. Samme med norsk også. Hundre prosent norsk føler jeg meg ikke. Det er noe mangler. Klart. Jeg er ikke født her. [...]Jeg har ikke hatt en typisk norsk oppvekst. Så du kan si jeg er på grensen mellom begge” (Interviewee 13).⁵

These examples of identity formation differ, but they all show a pattern of how the interviewees saw identity as created by a relationship to both home and host country.

The relationships with the host country is related both to socio-cultural and structural integration. One identify with being Norwegian because one is taking part in activities in the community, knowing the social codes, or speaking the language. Or one can identify with being Norwegian on the grounds that one is a part of the

Norwegian system. These are all characteristics of what we have defined as structural and socio-cultural integration. For some, the identity of being Norwegian is tied to the question of citizenship. Having a citizenship means getting the same rights as Norwegians and thus seen as making one equal. One parallel among those that expressed this was that they had stayed for a relative short time in Norway. They had all applied for citizenship, but not received it yet. For others who had become Norwegian citizens having the same rights did not equal being perceived to be Norwegian.

“Altså hvis man tenker på alle de rettighetene man får så har man like mange rettigheter som du eller andre etniske nordmenn som er født her. Altså det fysiske presset, karakteristikken som en afrikaner eller muslim eller noe sånt hele tiden kanskje av og til blir en ekstra som holder deg fra å bli veldig norsk”(Interviewee 12).⁶

The way Somalis are portrayed as a group in the media is for some influencing their feeling of belonging to Norway. In Norwegian media Somalis are often portrayed in a negative light. For example 30 % of newspaper articles about Somalis in Norway were focused on criminal behavior (Eide and Simonsen 2007). That Somalis often are portrayed as something negative was something that influenced many of the interviewees. For some this made them identify less with the Norwegian society.

“Når etter hvert, når man får press hver dag, mobbing, det er jo mobbing på en måte. Når man skriver dritt ting om somaliere sånn hele tiden. Hvis du blir mobba og du er etnisk gruppe hvordan kan du føle din tilhørighet da? Det norske fellesskapet? Fordi du føler deg angrepet. Stadig. Og ingen sier noe om det verken myndighetene eller ingen andre stopper det” (Interviewee 2).⁷

Many of the interviewees pointed to that regardless of if they felt Norwegian or not, people around them did not perceive them as Norwegians. Pointing to physical

characteristics and religion as something which made other people characterize them as not being Norwegians were common.

”Altså med mindre jeg snakker med personen så kan ikke personen si at jeg er norsk. [...] Det går på hudfarge ikke sant” (Interviewee 13).⁸

As Prieur (2002: 62) points to the physical characteristics one has matters in social settings. A person with a dark skin color will be reminded of the person’s position as a minority in the Norwegian society (Fangen 2007a). This can contribute to a feeling of otherness or distinction from the host society. However, some also used these distinctions themselves to point to why they felt Somali and not Norwegian. Thus these characteristics were at the same time perceived as something that made them not fully accepted in the host country, while also used to distinguish their identity as Somali.

One of the interviewees showed that his experiences when leaving the home country and meeting with the host country colored his perception of himself as Norwegian. His dispersal, to use Cohen’s terminology, from the home country was challenging as he left because of the civil war. As many of the other interviewees there are episodes in Norway that make him not feel fully accepted in the host country.

”Man føler; jeg er norsk og jeg er norsk og bla bla bla. Hele tiden er det folk som holder deg litt ute. Og når du har reist så mange kilometer hjemme fra med alle de problemene og den bagasjen du har. Og disse små krenkende opplevelse de tar deg litt tilbake, og holder deg litt tilbake” (Interviewee 12).⁹

Experiences one has in both the home and host country can contribute in shaping a person’s identity creation. Safran (1990) argues that a part of the diaspora identity is to feel a disconnection from the host country. This disconnection comes from a lack of full acceptance in the host country. As we have seen, some of the interviewees

expressed that negative experiences in the host country make them feel less Norwegian. These negative experiences can be both the negative attention that Somalis get in the media or those of a more personal character. As this discussion shows some of the interviewees experienced a disconnection from the host country in line with Safran's argument.

These examples of mixed identities have shown that it is possible to both be connected to the host and home country. Both socio-cultural integration and structural integration was used as examples of how one identified with being Norwegian. However, experiences of not being fully accepted as Norwegian made some of the interviewees distance themselves from being Norwegian regardless of their level of socio-cultural or structural integration.

Only Somali

Fangen's third category is those who define themselves as merely Somali. They also express a reaction against Norway and Norwegian values. These feelings are often found among the younger generation who has lived most of their life in the host country (Fangen 2007a). These attitudes were expressed by a young girl the following way;

"Nei eg føler meg ikkje norsk i det hele tatt. Selv om eg har bodd her en stund så er det bare det at nei, det er liksom det at eg e veldig klar over tradisjonene mine og kulturen min og sånt. Altså eg føler at eg kan aldri bli norsk fordi de gjør ting på den og den måten, og eg gjør ting på den og den måten. Og nei, altså eg nei, eg kan ikkje føle meg som norsk for å si det sann" (Interviewee 14).¹⁰

In explaining what makes her feel Somali she points to the big place religion has in her life. In addition she sees the Norwegian culture as very different and actually opposite from Somali culture.

”Det er liksom Islam man lever etter. At man ikkje drikker og ikkje spiser det og det og. Ikkje dasker rundt med gutter og alt det der. Og det er liksom det motsatte av hvordan nordmenn gjør og lever til dags liksom ” (Interviewee 14).¹¹

This is the third example of how the perception of similarity or difference between the values of the home country and the host country matters for identity formation. This example does not support Brinkerhoff (2008b) in that different values have resulted in a constant search for the right identity. As we have seen she does not identify with being Norwegian. Fangen (2007a) explains that opposition against Norway and Norwegian values might be a reaction towards experiences in the host country was they experience that they will not be looked upon as Norwegian anyway. This girl, however, does not express that she has experienced any discrimination by Norwegians or any negative reactions towards her because she is originally from Somalia.

“Eg har alltid fått de jobbene eg har ønsket meg og eg har fått de jobbene eg ville og tatt de kursene eg ville og reist de stedene eg ville og gjort alt det eg ville på en måte. Så at nei, eg føler meg ikkje. Så eg føler meg ikkje så mye forskjellsbehandlet liksom.” (Interviewee 14)¹²

However, there is a sense of not fitting into the host country that makes her feel disconnected towards it. When she went back to Somalia to visit, she felt like she had found the place where she belonged and saw this in relation to her experiences in Norway.

“Det føltes som om eg var, altså her i Norge så føler eg av og til som en utlending vet du. Men der var det liksom ja nå e eg her og ‘this is where I belong’ og ja masse sånt då” (Interviewee14).¹³

If looking at structural integration this girl is integrated into the Norwegian society. She has always gotten the jobs she wants, and it taking higher education. However, as we have seen she argues that her values are very different from Norwegian values. She also made it clear that it was her who chose not to become friends with Norwegians because she had nothing in common with them. Thus, based on this one can say that she is not socio-culturally integrated. If looking to Wahlebeck (1999) this interviewee is an example of integration and not assimilation because she is integrated into the society at a structural level, but at the same time keeping her own culture and identity. This is an example of a person that is identifying herself in accordance to her home country, but also structurally integrated into the Norwegian society.

Linking Identity and Integration

The link between identity creation and integration needs to be looked further into. When the three ways of identity formation were discussed up against the concept of diaspora it became clear that Safran's argument about that diaspora identity is only connected to experiences in the home country does not get support from this analysis. Brinkerhoff's (2008b) and Oronzco (2008) theories that experiences and attachment to multiple countries characterizes the identities of diaporas is supported.

By looking at the three ways of identity formation found in the data it has become clear that both structural and socio-cultural integration matters for identity creation. Structural and socio-cultural integration did influence the interviewees' feelings of identification with Norway. However, how these experiences influenced their identity varied substantially. Some expressed that factors of structural and socio-cultural integration made them identify as Norwegians. Others pointed to that even if these factors made them identify as Norwegians, they would never be defined by others as Norwegians. This attitude seemed to be shaped by the negative personal experiences and/or the negative picture given of Somalis in the media. A feeling of exclusion prevented inclusion into the Norwegian society. This indicates support of Safran in that a part of the diaspora identity is to feel a disconnection from the host

country. However, as we have seen the general pattern among the interviewees was to identify as both Norwegian and Somali. Although many of the respondents had experienced a disconnection from Norway, most of them still identified with it in some way or the other. These points are line with Cohen's (1997) argument that it is possible to combine both an identity and solidarity towards the host and home country.

This chapter has shown that identity and integration influence each other. This relationship needs to be taken into account when discussing the next sub questions of this thesis.

9.0 Involvement

The aim of this chapter is to look into the second sub question; *how is identity and integration influencing diasporas' reasons for involvement in collective transnational activities?* Section 9.1 discusses this question by showing how identity can work as a motivation for engagement, while section 9.2 looks at how structural integration can influence involvement.

9.1 Identity as a Motivation for Involvement

A part of what constitutes being a diaspora is keeping a connection to the home country. Four descriptions of how identity is connected with involvement are presented below. These show four different ways that identity is influencing involvement. The categories are distinct in the way that they all show different elements of how identity can be related to involvement. One person might make use of all the four descriptions, a few, or just one. They are thus not a representation of certain types of people but a presentation of the range of how identity was used, among the interviewees, as a motivation for transnational engagement.

My People Need Me

When the interviewees were asked why the organizations that they were engaged in supported Somalia, two of the answers they gave are well connected to the theory on diaspora identity. The first was that Somalia is a country with great challenges and is in need of all the support it can get. The second reason given was that it is the place where they are from. These two reasons were said in an interconnected way.

”Fordi de har behov. De har behov. Og de er, de er min tilhørighet.”
(Interviewee 6)¹⁴

The focus on that the people in Somalia were in deep need of help because of the situation in the country can be explained as a feeling of solidarity towards the people of the home country. This is one of the characteristics of diaspora identity. Using that they are from Somalia as a reason for their engagement can be

understood as identifying with their home country and the responsibility to help those at home. This responsibility to support your own people was expressed by one of the interviewees as ‘just they way things are’.

“Det er liksom sånn det er. Det er vårt ansvar. Vi er fra Somalia og det er vårt ansvar å støtte våre egne.[...]Men det er altså det du begynner med. De som du vet har det dårlig der du er fra, der familien din er.” (Interviewee 14)¹⁵

A third explanation that was given for why one supported Somalia was that this was a place where one knows the culture and where one can be a resource. That there is a connection between these three factors; the need in Somalia, that one feels a belonging to Somalia, and that one believes that one can make a difference there was explained by one of the interviewees in the following way;

“Et sted må man starte. En av grunnene var jo at det er et land som har stort behov for hjelp. Du kan tenke deg alt mulig som mangler kan man bidra med. Alt fra utdanning, skolegang, rent vann, utdanne folk om hygiene. Bygge skoler, bygge veier. Altså det er et land som trenger alt fra A til Å. Så det er en av grunnene. Den andre grunnen er jo at vi har tilhørighet der. Det er jo landet vårt. Tredje grunnen er at det er det landet som jeg tror jeg kan utrette noe med. Altså det er ikke lett for meg å dra til Afghanistan. Jeg kan ikke utrette noe der, jeg kjenner ingen. Jeg vet ikke hvordan ting fungerer der. Jeg vet ikke hvordan holdningene er, kulturen er, normene er også videre. Så må man jo starte et sted, og man bør starte der man kan få til noe” (Interviewee 13).¹⁶

This is an example of a loyalty to and attachment to a home country such as Shuval (2000) speaks of. One feels a responsibility to help one's own people. It is a commitment to maintain and secure one's home country such as described by Safran (1990). One is engaged in helping based on the logic that ‘my people needs me’. However, as discussed previously in this thesis diasporas are not one homogenous

group. They might not all agree on who ‘their people’ are. This brings us over to the next section; clan as an identity.

Clan as an Identity

Both Pratkanis and Turner (1996) and Kent (2006) argued that the ability to create a shared social identity is one of the factors that make successful mobilization of a group possible. Clans can be seen as such a shared social identity. Many of the interviewees used the clan structures actively in their organizations both in Norway and in Somalia. The reasons given were that people are motivated to be involved in the organization because they originate from the place it supports. In addition many have relatives there. This way of thinking is according to one interviewee based on a Somali motto that says that if you do something then you will get help, but you will not get help before you help yourself first. Supporting this project gives a sense of pride and status if returning home to visit.

“Alle har slektninger der. Deres slektninger går jo på skolen, nærheten. I tillegg til ros liksom, reiser du til Somaliland. Eierskapet til prosjektet. Det prosjektet er det jo 20 land som eier sammen. Og hvem som helst som går dit sier at det er mitt eget prosjekt ” (Interviewee 10).¹⁷

This can be seen as an example of that supporting a project in the home country gives status. That this is a factor of motivation is supported and pointed to by Hall, et.al (2007) and Trager (2001). There were no indicators on that this desire for recognition was encouraged by a lack of status in the host country.

Clan is an important identity factor for many Somalis with influence where they have their projects. One interviewee explains how she experiences the Somali community in Oslo to be divided along clan lines. This division becomes evident when looking at helping those in Somalia, and when it comes to establishing organizations. The reasoning of her argument is that one should not use clan as identification, but rather identify as Somali. Somalis who are experiencing peace in their place of origin should support those places in Somalia that are not peaceful.

“Jeg vil hvis organisasjonen samarbeider, de som kommer fra Somaliland, Puntland, Mogadishu, hva heter Djibouti. Det er samme. Det er Somaliere. Jeg vil alle sammen samarbeide. Og når kanskje gjøre en paraply [organisasjon] og snakke sammen. Hvis du i dag har fred i landet ditt du må hjelpe meg. Hvis jeg i dag har fred, du har problemer jeg må hjelpe deg. Men de har ikke sånt problem ikke sant. Ååå dere kommer fra Mogadishu det betyr dere har krig. Dritt. De snakker mye dritt om hvor vi kommer fra. Men du vet Mogadishu mange forskjellig klan. Hva heter klan bor der? Mange forskjellige. Også den klan mot hverandre.[...]Også når de hører vi må hjelpe her. De blir sint. Den klan ikke bra. De må hjelpe seg selv. Bla bla bla” (Interviewee 4).¹⁸

There are people who refuse to accept using clan as a part of identity. It is seen as something constructed and a reason for the breakdown of Somalia. As opposed to seeing clan as something uniting and a force of mobilization they see it as something that divides the Somalis. Using the clan system or supporting the place where you are from might have practical implications on how you are able to run your project. This point will be discussed more in section 11.3.

Identifying With Those They Help

An important motivation for many is that they identify with the people who are suffering. This should not be understood as a general identification with those suffering based on that they are Somalis. Instead it seems to be a more specific identification based on own experiences. It is thus not what Safran (1990) speaks of as a commitment to a maintenance and security of the home country. One feels responsible and a wish to help those one can identify with not just because they are Somalis but because they have experienced something similar to one self. A similar motivation is that they identify with those they help because they believe that if they had not left Somalia it could have been them who were suffering.

”Fordi disse menneskene som jeg hjelper. Vi bo sammen før. Jeg vet hvordan de har det” (Interviewee 15).¹⁹

”Jeg er omskjært 5 ganger så de sa at du klarer ikke å føde barnet da. Se på. Hvis jeg kanskje var der. Hva som skjer? Mye problem”(Interviewee 4).²⁰

“Og jeg har sett mange jenter som er 15 år [...] det har minnet meg hvor forferdelig det er å ha barn mens du er barn. Og hva skal jeg si. Jeg tenkte på hva som skjer der nede. Det rører meg. Eller det har jeg selv følt de jentene hva de har gjennomgått” (Interviewee 11).²¹

As these examples show, identifying with the people one helps does not necessarily need to be seen in the light of a wish to help the home country or ones ‘own’ people, instead it is more about helping people that one can identify with because of that they have been, or could have been in the same position as themselves.

The Type of Person I am

Helping people might also be part of the kind of person one identifies oneself as being. Some of the interviewees expressed that helping people were just who they were. They gave examples of supporting Norwegian organizations, or other people in general as well. Some pointed to that what they were working with also was about supporting other people.

“Det er meningen med livet. Hvis du ikke kan bidra til mennesken så ditt liv har ikke noe mening etter min måte å tenke på. [...] Jeg tror på solidaritet. Jeg tror på sånn solidaritet uansett. Det er mange som, ikke bare Somaliere som meg, som kommer til meg og spør om jeg skal hjelpe til i Tsjetsjenia på det økonomiske og ikke sant erfaringer. Så det er noe jeg tror på ikke sant. Å hjelpe andre mennesker. Den jobben som jeg gjør nå som gir meg lønn det handler om mennesker. Jeg tror jeg trives med å hjelpe andre. Fordi jeg føler meg livet mitt ikke har noen mening hvis jeg ikke gjør noe positivt for mankind, eller menneskeheten eller” (Interviewee 2).²²

It was also pointed out that helping people gives something in return to you. It makes your life meaningful. Additionally, it might also give profits such as that people perceive you in a positive manner, or other returns from God.

“So I believe to be kind. It is not only positive moral it also has some retain. Maybe from Allah” (Interviewee 9).

This type of behavior might be related to what is described as altruism. A widely recognized definition of altruism (Dovidio 1984) is from Macaulay and Berkowitz (1970). Here altruism is described as the consequences, the intentions and the potential source of rewards. Both the intentions of helping others, and the possible rewards this has were expressed by some of the interviewees. A relevant point made by Fowler and Kam (2007: 2) is that people who are altruistic want to help people in general. They describe this in opposition to those who help because of a special identification with the people they are helping.

As this discussion has shown, the identity as a diaspora can be used to explain why people participate in transnational activities. However, two other identifications were also identified. Those who identify with the people they help because of what they are experiencing and not because of whom they are, and those identifying with other people and wanting to help them in general.

9.2 Structural Integration as an Influence on Involvement

Gives Ability to Help

Having a job, education and a secure status in Norway might make it easier to contribute to the home country because one has the resources needed to succeed. Structural integration can be a motivation and an asset when aiming to participate in transnational activities. Kent (2006) and Rigby (2006) point to that a secure migration status might influence involvement because it makes it easier to travel and follow up projects, and one does not need to worry about whether or not ones

engagement in the home country will threaten the security and status one has in the host country. This attitude was also found among the interviewees.

”Jeg bor i Norge og er norsk statsborger. Norsk borger ikke sant, greit folk har det veldig bra. Masse kunnskap her og ressurser, så hvorfor ikke hjelpe de som trenger det” (Interviewee 2).²³

Other factors can be economic assets or knowledge that one has received through an education. That one might think differently because one has taken higher education was expressed by one of the interviewees. Guarnio et al.’s (2003) introduces two possible influences of education. Either can education in the host country decrease orientation towards the home country, or it might increase home country involvement. The data from this analysis supports the latter argument.

The same man also identified himself as a person that had the skills needed to change things in Somalia. When asked about what his motivation for participating in the organization was, he pointed to that he had the knowledge and the possibility to do something.

“Interesse og kunnskap som jeg har. Jeg ser et bilde av at noe kan gjøres. Jeg er framtidsoorientert. Har du sett filmen Die hard en eller to? [Ja] Der er det en scene der han skuespilleren blir spurt; hvorfor gjør du dette? Han sier at hvis han visste det var andre som hadde mulighet så ville han ikke ha gjort det. Så det er det jeg tenker. Følelsen av at jeg kan gjøre noe” (Interviewee 5).²⁴

One man who had helped build up a successful organization was asked if he thought that a person without his education and knowledge of the Norwegian system could have done the same. He answered that starting up the organization was a bit difficult, but that he thought that now anybody could do the same. However, he made one general remark about what type of people he thought could and would help others.

“Hvis du mener at du har gjort det bra i Norge du kan hjelpe andre og. Det er litt sånn bevis på at vi i [name of the small city where he lives] har klart seg bra. [...] Men hvis du sliter selv liksom så er det ikke noe rom til å hjelpe andre” (Interviewee 10).²⁵

Involvement in this organization was seen as proof that the people in the town where he came from had been successful in Norway. During the interview he gave examples of Somalis' success in this commune. All the Somalis living there permanently had taken higher education. Most of them are working. There are also many Somalis that study in there. In addition they have a Somali representative in the commune board. These are all examples of structural integration.

To sum up, these findings point to that structural integration might give people desire and possibility to participate in transnational organizations.

Resource Dependence

The involvement in organizations might also be a response to the demands that they experience from people in the home country. This can be understood as resource dependent home country orientation which describes migrants who wish to help but do not have the material resources to help their home country (Fangen 2007a). One man explains how he finds it hard to help his big family in Somalia, and how they do not seem to understand that it is challenging financially to keep sending money.

“Så jeg kan ikke gi 10 dollar eller 20 dollar. Det minste må være 100 dollar, så da blir det flere enn 1000 dollar. Og det de vet ikke. Det kan være en årsak. Og de vet ikke at det er vanskelig å tjene penger her” (Interviewee 1).²⁶

A woman points to that her status is not secure and that she does not work. It is challenging for her to help her family at home.

”Også jeg sier. Jeg har ikke jobb. Jeg er asylant. Jeg har mye barn og litt vanskelig å leve” (Interviewee 4).²⁷

The lack of resources and possibilities to contribute to the home country might explain why some people want to make an organization. In this way one is able to handle the pressure from home while being able to help. In resource dependent orientations people first start to participate when they have established enough capital (Fangen 2007a). By participating in or trying to establish an organization one might be able to get resources that one is not able to get by oneself. Starting up or joining an organization might be a strategy to being able to contribute to developments in the home country when one does not have enough resources.

Structural integration might matter for engagement in transnational organizations in two quite different ways. The first is that one has the skills and resources that make one capable to contribute in a transnational diaspora organization. This also involves having enough time and money. The other, quite opposite reason, might be that one lacks resources to contribute to the home country by oneself and sees that one has a better chance to do something by joining an organization.

The overall conclusions from this chapter are that identity is a strong explanation for diasporas' involvement. This identification is tied up to characteristics typical for diasporas' identity and other ways of identification. Structural integration might give diasporas the skills and possibility to participate in collective transnational activities. Lack of structural integration might serve as a motivation to participate in organizations where one might be able to do more than one could do alone.

10.0 Aiming for Change

The aim of this chapter is to look into the third question; *how is identity and integration influencing the aims of diasporas in their collective transnational activities?* Section 10.1 discusses this question by looking at diaspora organizations that are aiming for civic oriented activities, while section 10.2 looks at those aiming for change created through political initiatives. Before we take a more thorough look at the aims of the organizations in these sections and how these might be related to identity and integration, a gaze at the general picture of the aims of organizations is needed.

“And I lost my country. How can I help my country? And the question is going to be what I can contribute to. What? Do I send some equipment for example weapons to fight more? Do I send materials, for example food?[...] It is very limited contribution that somebody can in a collapsed system like Somalia” (Interviewee 9).

As this interviewee points out, diasporas can aim to help their country in different ways. The aims put forward by the organizations in this thesis were multiple. Many of the organizations had activities in Norway aimed at social activities or integration of Somalis in Norway. It was from this basis that some of them were started. Only later had the organizations developed activities in Somalia. Other organizations were started merely with the goal of contributing to the developments in Somalia.

Paffenholz and Spork (2006) described traditional civil society roles as activities that provide basic services to the people, or push for change in the home country. Both of these goals were found in the aims of the organizations looked into in this thesis. While most of the organizations were involved in providing basic services, others were also involved in political activities. Here the goal was to make political changes in Somalia. This was done either by lobbying against actors in Norway, or their actions were directed towards actors in Somalia. These findings are in line with both Mohamoud (2006) and Trans and Vammen (2008) research. Diasporas

first and foremost are engaged in civic-oriented activities towards their home country, but some are also engaged in political activities. Let us take a look at what type of civic and political activities they are engaged in and if these aims are related to identity and level of integration.

10.1 Civic Oriented Activities

Many of the organizations were concerned with providing basic services to the people such as education, sanitation, health and clean water. Some of the interviewees explained they saw a need for these types of contributions in Somalia because of the lack of a functioning state.

“Vi hjelper til med å sende penger, organisere skoler og hjelper til med å få vann ressurser fordi det finnes ingen stat” (Interviewee 16).²⁸

The education projects were involved in running schools, building schools, providing teachers with salaries, information campaigns and sending equipment. The health projects were concerned with economical support for a hospital, building a hospital, and sending used equipment. Regarding water and sanitation the organizations were involved in building wells and toilets. Providing these basic services was seen as important because it would make people's lives easier.

“Det kan hende at et liv blir ødelagt bare på grunn av mangel på toalett. Det er en jente som skal gå ut og tisse og blir voldtatt. Og så enkelt er det. Så hvis hun hadde en toalett litt nærmere hjemmet istedenfor, hun kan gå der. Og hvis du bygger en vannbrønn istedenfor å gå helt ned til elven og gå hele veien dit og bli voldtatt eller drept så kan hun bruke vannet der. Så grunnleggende er det. Og hva fører det til? Det fører til mindre problemer for fleste befolkningen” (Interviewee 12).²⁹

The organizations were also engaged in other activities than provides basic services. Some were supporting sports activities by sending equipment or building facilities, others were engaged in helping handicapped people by sending money. Most of the

organizations providing basic services, and the ones involved in other civic activities, were aiming at contributing to change in Somalia within the economic, and socio-cultural spheres.

Of the many organizations particularly concerned with helping women it was clear that the aim was cultural change. The interviewees gave different pictures of how Somali women's situations were depending on what area they were working in, but they all wanted to strengthen women's role in the society. The activities ranged from providing information about female genital mutilation, building a health clinic, supporting young women who were pregnant outside of marriage, and working together with women in Somalia regarding strengthening women's role in politics.

Education was mentioned as very important by many. Education was seen as the key for development. By getting education people would be able to get a broader horizon and in that way change some parts of the culture. An example given was that the nomadic lifestyle of many Somalis is hindering development. By giving children schooling one could change this pattern. An example of how some of the organizations were aiming at changing the culture and the socio-economic system among the nomads in Somalia was explained by an interviewee the in following way;

“So education is the key of everything if the people become settled. It is the key to settle. [By] To settle I mean in Somalia there are people who are mobile. Mobile because of the socio-economical system. So when one family cares a lot about schooling and such things the stop their mobility. And then they maybe sell all the goats and all the camels. And they make small shop or grocery or something like that. And then they think over kind of settlement and then continue giving support their children. So education is the key of everything “ (Interviewee 9).

Education was also expressed as something that can give people dreams and possibilities in the future. In addition it could keep children from becoming child soldiers. Supporting educational projects can thus not be understood as merely aiming to provide a service. In a broader perspective they can be seen as activities aimed at building peace. Organizations providing education and those involved in sports mentioned that their activities could help build peace.

”Fotball for barna og ungdommene sånn at de glemmer å krige mot hverandre” (Interviewee 1).³⁰

”Barnesoldater har skapt det veldig vanskelig i Somalia. Fordi det er den eneste muligheten de har. Derfor tenkte vi at det var viktig å gi disse barna noe annet å gjøre. En mulighet til å lære å lese og skrive”(Interviewee 17).³¹

This finding is in line with the DIASPEACE (Warnecke et.al. 2009) report looking at Somali diaspora organizations in Norway where one found that the organizations rarely stated peacebuilding as an aim but saw the development activities they were engaged in as one way of building peace. One of the organizations interviewed was working directly with peacebuilding activities. It was engaged in what was called reconciliation projects. The organization participated in the way that one took part in negotiations between different clans in Somalia.

”Det er viktig å bygge bro mellom klaner. Jeg har vært frem og tilbake mellom Norge og Somalia flere ganger i 2006, 2007 og 2008. Jeg har deltatt mange ganger og løst problemer. Folk sitter og snakker sammen. Dialog er et viktig verktøy. Folk må gi og ta i forhandlinger ” (Interviewee 16).³²

These organizations are involved in peacebuilding activities in a way that fits with how Lederach (1997) describes peacebuilding. He believes that to create conditions that are favorable to peace one has to simultaneously involve numerous levels of the society. “[...]peacebuilding has multiple activities, at multiple levels, carried on by

different sets of people at the same time” (Lederach 2001:843). Thus, one can argue that these diaspora organizations were aiming to contribute to a bottom-up way of building peace.

Many of the organizations saw that an important result of their work was that they were role models both in Somalia and for Somalis in Norway. It was pointed to that their project showed that a small group could go together and accomplish something great. This might encourage others to do the same. In addition some saw their organization as a role model because of the way multiple clans were working together.

“Fordi vi kan være forbilde for andre. Og vi kan viser at vi er somaliere og kan være venner og brødre” (Interviewee 1).³³

In the literature Orjuela (2008), Bush (2007) and Horst and Gaas (2009) pointed out that diasporas aims of peacebuilding or development not always might have the desired results. Some of the interviewees reflected upon that their projects or development projects in general might not always lead to the preferred outcomes. It was pointed to that too much help might lead people to not be able to take care of themselves and make people dependent on receiving aid.

“Så hvordan tror dere at dere bare kan sitte hjemme og få støtte utenfra? Dere har et land. Dere har en sjø. Dere må prøve å gjøre noe. Dere trenger utstyr [og] hjelp så kan dere bare prøve å finne det. Bare en gang” (Interviewee 1).³⁴

Although seeing this challenge, it was argued that one can not sit and look at people who are in need and not do anything because of what might happen in thirty years time.

“Men hvis du veier negative mot positive, så vil det positive veie mer. Fordi det er folk som er i nød akkurat nå. De trenger rask hjelp. Da hjelper det ikke å sitte å regne på hva som skjer om 30 år. Hvilken påvirkning det vil ha på neste generasjon” (Interviewee 13).³⁵

While some of the interviewees reflected about what effects aid might have the conclusion was that it is better to do something even though the long term effects are not known.

As the discussion has shown all the organizations were involved in civic activities. Where there any indicators of how identity and level of integration were influencing the goals of the organizations? The characteristics of the people involved in the organizations varied from those that were neither socially nor structurally integrated to those who were both. There were no clear patterns on how these issues might have influenced the goals of the organizations. Previous parts of this thesis have shown that identity and integration does influence why people participate in organizations. We have seen that structural integration might give people the opportunity to participate in organizations, but there were no patterns on how this might influence the goals of the civic oriented activities. The situation was, however, rather different regarding the few organizations that were involved in politics.

10.2 Engaged in Politics?

Most of the organizations were not engaged in politics. The reason given was that one should not mix politics with the work of the organization. People have different opinions about politics and therefore it is easier to agree upon a project aimed at development. Engagement in politics was seen as something that it was better to do on an individual basis. One man explains why his organization decided that they would not be engaged in politics but to support education instead the following way;

” We could not free from disagreement. We became kind of like; what could we share then? We could not share anymore about politics. [In] politics at least each other should be able to behave and practice like they want. Because even tough we are kind of educated people, who have a broader sense of Somalia, there were some very sensitive issues between us which was concerned with the political maneuvers in Somalia and the actors. So finally we understand. We come to understand that it was difficult to continue that way, but it was easier to go together with some other things. Then it became education” (Interviewee 9).

This finding is in line with Trans and Vammen (2008) who also found that many organizations did not engage in political activities because of the fear that this might create factions within the organization. However, Trans and Vammen (2008) did discover that some of the organizations were involved in political activities. The same was found among the organizations in this thesis.

Horst and Gaas (2009:2) and Østegaard-Nielsen (2003:70) speak of diaspora organizations direct or indirect engagement. In direct activities the focus is directed directly at the home country, indirect activities focus on the home country through international actors or actors in the home country. This distinction was relevant when analyzing the data about political activities in this thesis. One can support the political developments in Somalia in a number of ways either by direct contact with Somalia or indirectly by influencing actors in Norway. Regarding activities directly to Somalia none of the organizations said that they were sending money or weapons to support political parties or factions in Somalia. However, some did try to influence the situation by giving their opinions to politicians in Somalia. A way of political involvement was to give tips to actors in Norway who could do something about the situation in Somalia. These tips were to provide the Norwegian government or international organizations with information about the developments in Somalia.

”Vi har gitt tips til UD. Slått alarm om at det kan være konflikter på gang. Det er viktig for å forebygge. Noe må gjøres. Vi har sendt e-post til FN, UD og Det Norske Fredssenter. De var interesserte” (Interviewee 5).³⁶

This is an example of diasporas that are working towards peace by trying to involve the Norwegian government and international organizations. By providing them with information they might aim to push the government and the organizations to become more involved in the developments in Somalia. The argument for this was that to prevent future conflicts one needs to be involved at an early stage.

Other activities directed towards actors in Norway are bit more difficult to define as working for peace or war. These organizations were supporting the independence of Somaliland and Ogaden. They were aiming for democracy, independence and peace in these regions. However, since Somaliland is part of Somalia and Ogaden is part of Ethiopia others might not see these actions as support for peace. The types of political activities conducted were not in the form of sending weapons, but by trying to influence actors in Norway.

”Nei, det kan være at norske myndigheter sender valgobservatører til Somaliland når det er valg. Det har vi etterspurt, og det har de godtatt. Vi har etterspurt om Norge er interessert i å anerkjenne Somaliland som eget land. Sånne ting har vi gjort” (Interviewee 7).³⁷

Political activity not directly aimed at the Norwegian government is also taking place. These activities are conducted to create awareness and show their support towards the Somali people living in Ogaden.

”Vi støtter ikke i Somalia, men vi støtter Ogaden her i Norge gjennom taler demonstrasjoner osv. Vi kan ikke akseptere at den Etiopiske krigsmaskin skal holde på sånn og drepe barn. Etiopiske styrker spør ikke om man er opprører eller ikke. Det bor folk fra Ogaden i Somalia også. Vi snakker om

Somaliere. Myndighetene i Etiopia tenker bare på å slakte dem som geiter”
(Interviewee 16).³⁸

These examples are relevant to the point made by Østergaard-Nielsen (2006) that it is not a clear cut distinction on who that are freedom fighters and who that are terrorists. It depends on where ones sympathy lies. Somaliland is argued to function as a state (Kaplan 2008). Supporting democratic elections in Somaliland and the country's independence might be viewed by some as legitimate actions taken to get the recognition that the de facto state actually deserves. However, others who support a united Somalia might look at these actions as contributing to conflict. Regarding the situation in Ogaden one might view supporting the people of Ogaden as a fight for freedom and self determination. On the other hand it can be viewed as terrorist activity. Thus, whether or not these activities are supporting peace or war depends on the eye that sees. One can also see Anderson's (1994, 1992) description of that long-distance nationalism is something negative in this light. For whom are the activities negative? Who sees the activities as contributions to peace? That the distinction between who is contributing to conflict or peace is not clear is important to keep in mind when looking at how identity and integration might influence the goals of the organizations.

There were some common characteristics among those individuals that participated in organizations engaged in politics. Firstly, living in a democratic country had influenced the wish of involvement in politics. One has seen democracy in practice and wanted to change things in the home country. This is in line with the arguments of both Zunzer (2004), Kleist (2008) and Hall et.al. (2007) that experiencing the values of democracy, individualism and freedom will influence the way diasporas aim to contribute in their home country.

”Folk må få velge selv. Det er en tankegang jeg har fått fordi jeg har bodd her lenge. Det er viktig å ta demokratiet på alvor uansett kjønn og farge. I

Somalia har de liten innsikt til å forstå hva jeg står for. De er avhengig av klan, familie osv for å vite hva de skal mene ”(Interviewee 16).³⁹

Additional characteristic of these interviewees were that they were well educated, working in Norway and engaged in the Norwegian society. Thus, one can argue that they were both socio-cultural and structurally integrated. A woman expresses how her involvement in politics and learning from the way things are done in Norway has influenced her engagement in Somalia.

”Fordi at jeg er jo veldig involvert i politikk her.[...]Og jeg lærer veldig mye og tar med meg de tingene jeg kan der nede. Og sånn at der er jo demokratisk styring der og sånn at jeg føler at jeg kan bidra med litt der. Sånn at demokratien blir ivaretatt spesielt for kvinner og likestilling for eksempel. Og det er jo ting jeg har lært her ” (Interviewee 7).⁴⁰

This shows how adopting to or learning some of the values in the host country can be related to a political involvement. These examples do support Zunzer (2004), Kleist (2008), and Hall et.al. (2007) in that diasporas can contribute positively because they gain experience and adopt the values of the host country. However, one should also take into account the argument of Kapur (2007) that new knowledge that the diasporas have gained from the host country not necessary needs to be used in a positive way. Regarding Anderson’s (1992, 1994) point about that diasporas that support their home countries politically can be either marginalized or successfully integrated this analysis finds that it is diasporas that are both structural and socio-cultural integrated that participated in these activities. What is clear is that these diasporas can not be described as marginalized actors with “passionate and blind support in favor of a conflict driven solution” (Hall et.al. 2007: 13). They are aiming for change but in a more indirect way than sending money or weapons.

This chapter has shown that diaspora organizations are engaged in their home country to create change. The civic activities these activities were mostly, but not

only, service providing activities. However, the organizations were aiming for that these activities would contribute to change on more than an individual level but also change in economic and socio-cultural spheres. While no patterns on how identity and level of integration influenced the civic goals of the organizations could be identified the situation regarding political activity was different. Socio-cultural and structurally integrated diasporas were the ones that were engaged in political activities directed towards Somali people. Whether or not these activities should be regarded as to aiming for peace or contributing to conflict is an open question.

11.0 The significance of the Institutional Framework

The aim of this chapter is to look into the fourth sub question; *how does the institutional framework influence diasporas' collective involvement in transnational activities, and how is this influence affected by identity and integration?* Section 11.1 looks at this question by discussing if the institutional framework might shape the organizations aims or way of working. Section 11.2 is a continuation of the discussion in section 11.1; it looks at how the institutional framework influences diasporas' actions in relation to time, trust and voluntary work. Section 11.3 looks at using the clan system and how this may influence funding opportunities. The last section, 11.4, discusses if applying for support is influenced by identity and integration.

11.1 Shaped by the Institutional Framework?

Only a few of the organizations had received funding from the Norwegian government¹¹ for their involvement in Somalia. Most of the organizations were based on collecting money from Somalis in Norway. Many also cooperated with the Somali diaspora living in other places in the world. A few also got funding from international organizations based in Somalia. This supports De Haas (2006) argument that diasporas' contribute to their home country even without support from the host country. However, this does not mean that the Norwegian institutional framework has no effect on transnational diaspora organizations in Norway. A clear pattern that evolved from the interviews was that to get funding one needed to cooperate with a big Norwegian organization. Many of the interviewees expressed that they wanted to work with a Norwegian organization because that was the way to get funding. The organizations therefore tried to find Norwegian organizations to work together with. It was also expressed that working with a Norwegian organization was good because of their expertise.

¹¹ Understood as all funding and support systems that are provided or supported by the Norwegian government. Thus it also includes cooperation with Norwegian NGOs.

“Vi har søkt sammen en norsk organisasjon. Vi søkte via den norske organisasjonen som var den som tok ansvaret. De kaller partnerorganisasjon. De har prosjekter i Afrika og er eksperter på det de gjør” (Interviewee 16).⁴¹

Groot and Gibbons (2007) finding that diaspora organizations do not want to be partners with host country organizations are not supported in this data. Most of the organizations wanted to get support from Norway. The reasons given for not applying for support were not as found by Groot and Gibbons (2007: 446) that the organizations “[...] preferred to maintain their independence without the inevitable interference, strict rules, and frameworks imposed by Dutch aid organizations.” Instead, it seemed like many of the organizations were trying to adjust and adapt to the rules that the institutional framework provides them. Of those who were waiting to apply for support some pointed out that they were not ready; or they wanted to show that they could build their own projects before they applied for support. In addition, some expressed the value of doing projects without getting support from the Norwegian government. One of the interviewees explains this attitude the following way;

”At vi kan vise både oss selv og andre somaliere at vi kan klare oss selv uten å søke bidrag” (Interviewee 12).⁴²

Although many expressed that they wanted to work together with Norwegian organizations there were many examples of that this was not always as easy. The Somali organizations were the ones that had to look for organizations that would work with them. One of Horst’s (2008a:3) recommendations on how to get diasporas more engaged in involvement in their home country is to use the institutional framework to encourage organizations. It is pointed out that it is of key importance to make diaspora organizations cooperate more with host country organizations. One man expressed his frustration with what he felt like a requirement within the Norwegian institutional framework that one had to work

with Norwegian organizations. These organizations were seen as competing with the diaspora organizations for funding.

”Norske myndigheter sier sånn; du må finne en stor organisasjon. Du går til en stor organisasjon. Den store organisasjonen er i konkurranse med deg. Konkurrer med deg for å få midler for å få gjort der. De vil ikke ha noe med deg i det hele tatt. Hvordan kan du spørre hjelpe din konkurrent?”

(Interviewee 2)⁴³

As these examples show there was a view that to get funding one needed to work together with a Norwegian organization. Many of the Somali transnational diaspora organizations tried to adjust to meet this requirement. The organizations had to adapt to the requirements of the Norwegian donor in other ways as well.

”Norad ba om at vi gjør risiko og konfliktanalyse. Vi kan tilpasse oss, det er lett tror vi. Men så blir det skippertak. Det er frivillig arbeid ikke sant. Vi er nødt til å forholde oss eller tilpasse oss til deres krav” (Interviewee 5).⁴⁴

These examples illustrate how the institutional framework is influencing diaspora organizations. In addition, some expressed that they felt that actors within the institutional framework was pushing them to take part in certain activities in Somalia. One man who wanted to start projects in the north-eastern part of Somalia was met with a recommendation to focus on a different activity than his organization wanted. They were told that they did not get funding for their project because the area they wanted to be engaged in needed a different type of activity than the one what they were planning. It needed political lobbying.

”Svaret som vi fikk var jo sånn; det området der trengs sånn politisk lobby. Hva har det med politikk å gjøre å hjelpe fattige mennesker? [...] Hvis du har noen midler som er litt budsjettert for å hjelpe fattige; hvorfor knytter du det

med politikk? Det er mennesker. Det er barn som dine barn ” (Interviewee 2).⁴⁵

The DIASPEACE (Warnecke et.al. 2009) report pointed to that some of the Somali organizations in Norway were adjusting their activities to those that they thought they could get funding from. None of the interviewees expressed this view, but that does not mean that it is not the case. However, what was expressed, as the example above illustrates, is that some organizations might experience that the institutional framework is pushing their organization into activities that they themselves did not come up with. If this is the case then one might jeopardize the point made by Brinkerhoff (2008c) and Horst (2008a) that diasporas' contributions might be unique because of their different understanding of what development is, and which activities that are needed to achieve development it in their home country.

11.2 Time, Trust and Voluntary Work

”Det er min anbefaling er at byråkratien må reduseres. Det er et stort byråkrati. Så det er jo litt vanskelig når du er en liten organisasjon å komme igjennom systemet” (Interviewee 2).⁴⁶

Starting up and running an organization in Norway is a time consuming task. Many of the interviewees expressed that it was challenging to maneuver within the institutional framework. A point found among interviewees regardless of their structural or socio-cultural integration was that applying for funding was very time-consuming. Regardless of if one thought the institutional framework was good or bad many pointed out that they did not feel like they had enough capacity and time to use it. Their lives were busy already. Some had many children and no one to take care of them while they were working with the organization, others had multiple jobs. Many found it challenging to combine a family and working life with voluntary work.

”Vi kan ikke påvirke hvis man ikke har ressurser. Man må bruke tid. Man må få lønn for arbeidet man gjør. Frivillighet kan man slite seg ut på. Hvis vi er organisert godt kan vi gjøre noe. Vi kan ikke organisere oss fordi vi har ikke tid og penger. Folk foretrekker å jobbe. Det er den største hindringen for å gjøre hva vi kan. Noen av oss har to jobber” (Interviewee 5).⁴⁷

Although this did does not mean that the organizations were not active in trying to use the institutional framework, it was expressed as something that made it more difficult to take use of it. Horst (2008a:3) also argues that most diaspora organizations are run by volunteers and that this has implications for how they function. Many of the interviewees were concerned with that if they did apply for money they would need to have more time and resources to follow up the projects.

”Nei, det har vi ikke fordi den type prosjekter er prosjekter som trengs veldig mye oppfølging. Mye midler. Så vi har egentlig ikke tatt på oss den type ansvar. Fordi at jeg som er leder jobber veldig mye her ” (Interviewee 7).⁴⁸

An interesting point is that the organizations already were very concerned with showing that the money people gave went to the projects that they were intended to. During the interviews many explained intricate systems on how they send pictures and reports to show the status of the projects to the people donating money. As one man explains building up this system took a lot of time and effort;

“De første årene har vi brukt på å lage et system som er troverdig blant Somaliere. Vi har ikke tenkt liksom på en stor organisasjon, men på de som betaler fast i måneden, at systemet skal være troverdig. At de kan følge opp de pengene de bruker hver måned. At det kommer klart fram ” (Interviewee 10).⁴⁹

As we have seen, many of the organizations expressed that it was important for them to assure their donors that the money was used in the right way. Some gave this as an explanation to why they had not applied for money from the Norwegian government. While it seems like the organizations felt confident that their Somali donors trusted their work and report systems it seems like they were not sure if Norwegian donors would trust it.

”Ja, altså det er prosjekter vi er interessert i, men det er veldig vanskelig å få igjennom. Og jeg mener egentlig at norske myndigheter burde investere på disse prosjektene. Stole på oss. Lettere gjøre det. Det er veldig vanskelig å få igjennom prosjekter når du er somalisk organisasjon drevet av somaliere. Men det er mye lettere å få for norske organisasjoner. Frivillige organisasjoner som er store og anerkjent og sånn da. Og det går på tillit og det er veldig synd at de ikke, at de små organisasjonene som kjenner til situasjonen der nede og kulturen her ikke får de anledningen som de store organisasjonene får” (Interviewee 7).⁵⁰

This point about Somali organization and trust will be discussed in further detail in section 11.4 when looking at how identity and integration influences applying for funding.

11. 3 Clan and Funding

Some of the organizations based their organizations on donations from friends and did not want to use the clan system. Others used the clan system actively to collect money for their organization. It was explained as a sort of insurance system, and as a good way of collecting money for the organization.

“Vi har faktisk utnyttet klansystemet. Vi er en liten underklan som bor her. Og klanene er jo en måte å forsikre. Forsikringssystem. Og når du er med i klan så må du betale, så må du bidra uansett. Også nesten alle som er i vår klan som bor i Norge, Europa og i USA og i Arabiske land bidrar” (Interviewee 10).⁵¹

Out of those who used the clan system to collect money for the organizations some found it to be a difficult decision. At the one hand using the clan system would keep upholding it, at the other hand not using it would make the work of the organization much more difficult.

“Jeg så på det som et stort problem da, et stort dilemma, fordi hvis du jobber med klanbasert system så er du med på å opprettholde det systemet som i første omgang ødela landet da” (Interviewee 13).⁵²

Many argued that using the clan system was the only realistic option. The explanation given was that people are only willing to give support to areas where they originate from or where they had some sort of clan belonging. Others focused on that clan was important for being able to conduct activities in some parts of Somalia. An organization helping those from other clans could even create conflicts. If a clan from the north was helping a clan from the south people would question if they had any political motivations. Because of these challenges many chose to use and establish organizations in line with the clan system.

“Folkeslag er viktig i Somalia. Hvis du ikke har noe slekt der du kan ikke starte noe der. Klaner tviler på hverandre. De sier ”Du tilhører dette området. Hva gjør du her?” Derfor startet vi i Mogadishu og Mudug. Det er samme folkeslag som bor der” (Interviewee 17).⁵³

That clan affiliation mattered when applying for funding from Norway was also mentioned. One of the interviewees explained how Norwegian donors ask about clans and that it is important to clarify your answers, and say that you want to get away from this way of thinking. When asked what he thought was the reason for them asking about clans he explained that he saw it as a sign of ignorance from the Norwegian donors' side.

”For dem er det kanskje litt uvitenhet. Og det er nesten sånn der at de holder den tanken om at der er klan problemer som er den største problemen. Somalia forandres jo hele tiden. Samme klan kriger jo mot hverandre hele tiden. Så jeg synes det er litt dumt at man bruker den klan for å avslå søknad. Eller man må bruke den søknad, se på søknad og evaluere den individuelt “(Interviewee 12).⁵⁴

Fangen (2007a) and Horst and Gaas (2009) point to that clan affiliation in Somalia are very fluid and changing. By focusing too much on clans one might make the perceived distinctions between different clans bigger. However, as we have seen not many of the organizations looked at in this thesis were getting support from the Norwegian government. Thus, the institutional frameworks influence on the issue of clans might not be substantial. One can question if the institutional framework in Norway at all has a possibility for influencing organizations usage of the clan system. As we have seen some of the organizations expressed that this was the only way they could get access to do activities in Somalia. This does not indicate that Katunaric (2007) Zunzer (2004) are wrong in arguing that diasporas that contribute in their host countries can transform this cooperation into a positive for their home countries, however, it questions how realistic it is that organizations that are not from the same clan or area will get impasse in some of the conflict torn areas in Somalia.

11.4 Applying for Funding; Influenced by Identity and Integration?

Whether or not the interviewees found it difficult to apply for support was related to their structural and socio-cultural integration. Those that were structurally integrated did not believe that it was difficult to find information about how to apply for funding, or to write the applications. As one of the interviewees put it;

”Å søke om støtte er ikke noe vanskelig. Hvem som helst kan gå på nettet og finne og skrive en søknad ” (Interviewee 10).⁵⁵

These interviewees also had connections with others that were involved in Norwegian or Somali organizations. It was common to receive tips or help from either Norwegian or Somali friends involved in organizations. Many of them had attended seminars by the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation, the Norwegian Refugee Counsel, the Development Fund or the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Not all the interviewees shared the view of that finding information and applying for support is easy. They were often quite new in Norway and did not work or have a network of friends. One of the interviewees answered the following way when he was asked why his organization had not made an attempt to apply for funding;

”Vi vet ikke hvordan vei vi søker denne penger.[Har dere prøvd å finne ut hvordan?] Nei. [Hvorfor ikke?] Vi vet ikke hvordan vei. Vi vet ikke hvordan vei vi kan søke” (Interviewee 5).⁵⁶

This shows that structural integration matters in the way that you have the skills and knowledge on how to find and take use of the information you find. Socio-cultural integration might matter in the way that you have a network of friends or acquaintances that support and help you. De Haas (2006) pointed out that diaspora organizations often are outside the flow of information about available funding. As has been shown this was not the case for the diaspora organizations where the key person was integrated. They had participated in seminars and knew how and where to get funding. This finding is in line with Kleist (2009) and Trans and Vammen (2008) who both argue that integration matters for diaspora organizations possibility to be successful. However, it has to be made clear that the relationship between integration and funding not is so clear cut so that those that are well integrated necessary get funding. There were many examples in the material that shows that this is not the case. However, the integrated diasporas showed more confidence in knowing and understanding how to find information and apply for support.

Identity might also matter for how the organizations used and understand the Norwegian institutional framework. The organizations were clearly influenced by the negative media that has been around Somali organization and misuse of money. In 2006 there was a documentary on a Norwegian TV channel about the misuse of money given by the Norwegian government to Somali organizations which resulted in a lot of media coverage (VG 2006). Some of the interviewees expressed that it was this negative light on Somali organizations that had made them wait with applying for support. They wanted to show that they were able to manage themselves first. This was explained in the following way by one of the interviewees;

“På den tiden så var det noen organisasjoner, som faktisk og det har vært i media. Somaliske organisasjoner som har vært i media og jukset med tall og diverse. Så for oss var det ikke aktuelt å søke om bistand fra staten. I hvert fall ikke med det første. Vi, altså du søker ikke uten å ha et prosjekt i gang ikke sant. Uten å ha noen konkrete tall, fakta på plass da” (Interviewee 13).⁵⁷

Others had tried to apply for support but did not get it. De Haas (2006) and Trans and Vammen (2008) argue that diaspora groups seem to face more difficulties to receiving funding than other NGOs. This thesis does not aim, nor have the data needed to say whether or not it is more difficult for Somali organizations to receive funding than other organizations. The opinion of Somalis themselves about why they are not getting funding is interesting in light of this. Many wondered if the reason they were not given support was because of the negative attention that has been towards Somali organizations and their misuse of money. They argued that people now were more skeptical about Somali organizations, and this might have made it more difficult for them to get support. A few wondered if it was other underlying reasons for them not getting support, such as racism towards them because they were Somalis, or because they were Muslims.

”Noen ganger jeg gå på forskjellig sted og finner stor organisasjon som kan hjelpe Somalia. Men noen ganger jeg tenke; de vil ikke hjelpe Somalia. Jeg ser på mange organisasjoner som hjelper Kenya, Liberia, Sierra Leone, ikke Somalia. Også noen ganger tenker jeg litt selv for meg. Hvorfor vil de ikke hjelpe Somalia? Kanskje [fordi] de er muslimer? De vil ikke hjelpe. Hva som skjer? Jeg spørre spørsmål alene. Også jeg blir sint noen ganger” (Interviewee 4).⁵⁸

Identifying with being Somali and with other Somali organizations might influence whether or not you apply for funding. It also might matter for how you explain it if you don't get funding. Identity can influence how you perceive the institutional framework to be, and how you choose to use it.

This chapter has shown that the institutional framework can affect diaspora organizations in multiple ways. It can influence transnational diaspora organizations to want to work with a Norwegian organization, and possibly influence the activities that they aim to be engaged in. However, not many of the organizations were getting support from the Norwegian government. Thus, the institutional frameworks influence on diasporas' collective transnational activities might not be substantial. Identity mattered because it influenced some with regards to their desire to make use of the institutional framework. Integration might matter for how easy it is for the diasporas to make use of the institutional framework. The key difference was that the integrated diasporas' showed more confidence in knowing and understanding how to find information and apply for support.

12.0 Concluding Discussion

This thesis has sought to contribute to the understanding of how identity, integration and the institutional framework in a country might influence diasporas' collective involvement in transnational activities. To get data to discuss these relationships semi-structured interviews with key actors in transnational Somali diaspora organizations in Norway were conducted. Model 1 and the four sub questions were introduced in chapter one to clarify how to answer the main research question. In this concluding chapter a sum-up of the main findings will be laid out. Then the overall picture from these conclusions is presented. The chapter ends with recommendations for future research.

Sub Question One

The first chapter of the analysis, chapter 8, has looked into the relationship between identity formation and integration by discussing sub question number one; *how are identity and integration influencing each other?* Three ways of identity formation was found; adoption to Norwegian culture, to mix identities, and identify oneself as only Somali. These categories correspond to those found by Katrine Fangen (2007a) in her study of Somalis in Norway. These strategies of identification were related to experiences in the host country. This does not support Safran in that diaspora identity is only seen in relation to the home country. Brinkerhoff (2008b) and Orozco (2008) argument that experiences and attachment to multiple countries characterizes the identities of diaporas is an explanation that better fits the data.

A general conclusion is that negative experiences in the host country make it more difficult for diasporas to identify as Norwegians. This finding is in line with Safrans (1990) argument that part of the diaspora identity is to feel a disconnection from the host country. However, as we have seen, a general pattern among the interviewees was to identify as both Norwegian and Somali. Although many of the respondents had experienced a disconnection from Norway, most of them still identified with Norway in some way or the other. These points support Cohen's (1997) argument

that it is possible to combine an identity and solidarity towards both the host and home country.

The overall answer to sub question one is that it seems clear that there is a relationship between identity and integration. However, no clear patterns on how level of integration influences identity formation were found. Since identity and integration influence each other, one should take this relationship into account when looking into how these variables influence involvement in, and the aims of diasporas in their collective transnational activities.

Sub Question Two

Chapter 9 addressed sub question number two; *how is identity and integration influencing diasporas' reasons for involvement in collective transnational activities?* This chapter has shown that identity and integration can influence involvement in transnational activities. Safran's (1990) theory that part of diaspora identity is to feel a commitment to the home country and to have a responsibility to help ones own people was supported in the analysis. However, it is not always easy to say who 'ones people' are. As an example, clan was used as a way of identification for some of the interviewees. That identities such as clan can influence involvement can be explained as by Pratkanis and Turner (1996) Kent (2006) who argue that the ability to create a shared social identity is one of the factors that make successful mobilization of a group possible. Two additional explanations on how identity can influence diasporas' involvement was identification with the people one helps, or altruism as a way of identification.

Regarding integration it was found that structural integration might matter for engagement in transnational organizations in two quite different ways. The first is that one has the skills and resources that make one capable to spend time and money on transnational organizations. The other, opposite reason, is that one lacks resources to contribute to the home country, and sees that one has a better chance to do something by joining an organization.

The overall answer to sub question two is that both identity and integration can be used as factors explaining diaspora collective contributions in transnational activities. Identity is, as we have seen, used as a motivating factor for diasporas' involvement in their home country. Structurally integrated diasporas might have incentives to participate in collective transnational activities because they have the skills and resources to contribute. Less structural integrated diasporas might be involved in organizations because this gives them a better chance of being able to contribute to their home country.

Sub Question Three

Chapter 10 addressed sub question number three; *how is identity and integration influencing the aims of diasporas in their collective transnational activities?* This chapter has shown that identity and integration is influencing the goals of the organizations. As found in similar research in Norway and Denmark, most of the organizations were involved in civic oriented activities. With these activities they were aiming to contributing to change in Somalia within the economic and socio-cultural spheres. If using Lederach's theory on peacebuilding, one can argue that some of these activities were aimed at building peace from the bottom-up. The characteristics of the people involved in the organizations varied from those that were neither socially nor structurally integrated to those that where both. There were no clear patterns on how these issues might have influenced the goals of the organizations. This was, however, rather different when it came to involvement in political activities.

Only a few organizations were involved in political oriented activities. The reason given was that it was easier to agree on the goals of the organization than on political goals. This finding is in line with what Trans and Vammen found when studying Somali diaspora organizations in Denmark (2008). Of those organizations that were involved with politics none said that they were sending money or supporting political parties or fractions in Somalia. Thus, the most hard line theories of that diasporas are terrorists were not supported. These organizations were

lobbying towards actors in Norway by contacting organizations or politicians, and holding demonstrations. The aim was to get the Norwegian actors more aware of, and involved in, the situation that Somalis are facing, and to get support for the independence of Somaliland and Ogaden. Østergaard-Nielsen's (2006) point that the distinction between those that are freedom fighters and those that are terrorists is not clear, is relevant to this discussion; how these activities are to be understood depends on where one's sympathy lies.

Anderson (1992, 1994) argues that diasporas who support their home countries politically can be either marginalized or successfully integrated. This analysis finds that it is diasporas that are both structural and socio-cultural integrated that participated in these activities. In addition the findings in this thesis support the arguments of Zunzer (2004), Kleist (2008) and Hall et.al. (2007) in that experiencing the values of democracy, individualism and freedom will influence the way diasporas aim to contribute in their home country. However, Kapur's (2007) point about that the knowledge diasporas have gained from the host country not necessary needs to be used in a positive way, should also be taken into account. As discussed above, whether or not working for the independence of Somaliland and Ogaden is contributing to conflict or peace is an open question. What is clear from this data is that the organizations are aiming for change in a nonviolent way.

The overall answer to sub question three is that there were no clear patterns on how identity or integration level has influenced the organizations aiming at civic oriented change. This was, however, rather different when it came to involvement in political activities. Here it was found that it was the most integrated both socio-culturally and structurally, that were engaged in organizations involved with politics.

Sub Question Four

The last chapter of the analysis addressed sub question four; *how does the institutional framework influence diasporas' collective involvement in transnational activities, and how is this influence affected by identity and integration?* The institutional framework is influencing diaspora organizations by that many of them

were thinking about working together with a Norwegian organization. This can change the way their organization is organized. There were also indicators of that the institutional framework tried to influence what activities the diasporas should engage in. If this is the case then one might jeopardize what Brinkerhoff (2008c) and Horst (2008a) argues can be unique contributions by diasporas.

Some of the organizations were using the clan system in their organizations, others were not. As we have seen, only a few of the organizations looked at in this thesis were getting support from the Norwegian government. Thus, the institutional frameworks influence on the issue of clans might not be substantial. However, as we have seen, some of the organizations expressed that using the clan system was the only way they could get impasse into doing activities in Somalia. It is therefore questionable if the institutional framework in Norway is in a position to influence the organizations' use of clans in their transnational activities.

That some Somali organizations during the last years have been accused of fraud, and the negative attention that this has created made some of the organizations not want to apply for funding. This can be explained by that one identifies with other Somali organizations. Therefore one is careful in doing something that might make other people relate the organization to the negative picture of Somali organizations misusing money. In addition, some also used their identity as Somalis as an explanation for why their organization did not receive funding.

Both structural and socio-cultural integration might matter for how easy it is for the diasporas to make use of the institutional framework. However, there were many examples in the data that shows that this does not necessary make the diasporas successful in their applications for funding. The key difference was that the integrated diasporas showed more confidence in knowing and understanding how to find information and apply for support.

The overall answer to sub question four is that the institutional framework does influence how some diaspora organizations organize, and it might also influence

their goals. For some diasporas identity and integration matters for whether or not they have the ability and desire to use the opportunities provided by the institutional framework.

The Overall Picture

This thesis has shown that there are connections between identity, integration and diasporas' collective involvement in their home country. The sub questions have been thoroughly answered. It is now time to look at what implications these answers have for the research question; *how do identity, integration and the institutional framework in Norway influence diasporas' collective involvement in transnational activities?*

The findings in this thesis are not representative; however, they might be relevant for other situations and contexts. As we have seen, some of the explanations found are supported by other empirical findings. In addition, the main concepts used in this thesis have been fruitful tools to dig into the research question with.

As we have seen, the relationships between identity, integration, the institutional framework and involvement are complex. If one is to simplify the findings and paint an overall picture of them, it would be that the key actors in organizations aiming for change in their home country are not those that are marginalized. Most of them are structurally integrated and have education and work in Norway. Others are socio-culturally integrated in the way that they have adapted to some of the values and the way of doing things in Norway. Change in the home country is the main goal of the organizations, and one wants to achieve this without weapons. While most of the contributions to the home country can be described as aiming to contribute to peace, a few of the activities might be seen as aiming to contribute to conflict. Contradictory to much of the literature on diasporas it is found that the ones involved in politics towards the host country, are the ones that are structurally and socio-culturally integrated in Norway. They are making use of what they have

learned in Norway about democracy to fight peacefully for the independence of their home countries.

Future Research

To get fruitful developments of the discussion about identity, integration and diasporas' involvement in transnational activities future research of the topic is essential. This thesis has pointed out that there is a relationship between identity and integration, but future research is needed to give more solid answers to how the level of integration influences identity formation. Future research could also look into the main finding of this thesis, that those who are structurally and socio-culturally integrated are those that are involved in organizations with political aims. Is this finding also relevant in a representative sample, and for other diaspora groups? Will it be found in different contexts, or in a different country?

Hall et.al. (2007) and Mercer et.al. (2008) describe diasporas as crucial links between developed and developing countries, and between international migration and African development. Future research on diasporas and how their identity, integration, and the institutional framework in the host country influence their involvement in transnational activities is crucial to understand, and possibly be able to influence, what type of contributions diasporas aim to make towards their home countries.

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Appendix 1: List of Interviewees

Number	Date	Sex	Age	Region		Type of interview
				Somalia ¹²	Norway	
1	10.08.2009	Male	45	South Somalia	Oslo	Recorded ¹³
2	12.08.2009	Male	40	Puntland	Oslo	Recorded
3	13.08.2009	Female	About40	Ogaden	Oslo	Loss ¹⁴
4	17.08.2009	Female	32	South Somalia	Oslo	Recorded
5	18.08.2009	Male	39	South Somalia	Oslo	Notes ¹⁵
6	20.08.2009	Male	58	South Somalia	Oslo	Recorded
7	24.08.2009	Female	35	Somaliland	Oslo	Recorded
8	27.08.2009	Male	About50	Somaliland	Oslo	Loss
9	08.09.2009	Male	48	South Somalia	Akershus	Recorded
10	01.09.2009	Male	33	Somaliland	Telemark	Recorded
11	02.09.2009	Female	40	Ogaden	Buskerud	Recorded
12	07.09.2009	Male	38	South Somalia	Oslo	Recorded
13	21.09.2009	Male	28	North ¹ Somalia	Oslo	Recorded
14	22.09.2009	Female	20	North Somalia	Oslo	Recorded
15	23.09.2009	Male	43	South Somalia	Oslo	Notes, ¹⁶
16	23.09.2009	Male	52	Somaliland	Oslo	Recorded
17	01.10.2009	Male	49	Border to Ogaden	Oslo	Notes ¹⁷

¹² Base on the characterizations the interviewees gave themselves.

¹³ Recorded: taped and transcribed

¹⁴ Technical fault with recording device. Notes written afterwards.

¹⁵ Interviewee did not want to be recorded. Notes were taken. Approved by interviewee.

¹⁶ No answer when notes were sent for approval.

¹⁷ No answer when notes were sent for approval.

Appendix 2: Topic Guide

Topic guide

Introduction

- Objective: Study of Somali organizations and the people involved in them
- Master thesis in Peace and Conflict studies at the University of Oslo
- About 1 hour
- In English or Norwegian
- Recording
- Confidentiality

1. Background information

- Age
- Sex
- Education Somalia/Norway
- Employment Somalia/Norway
- Length of stay in Norway
- Norwegian citizenship

2. In Somalia

- From where in Somalia?
- Involvement in organizations in Somalia?
- Reason for leaving Somalia and going to Norway

3. In Norway

- Experiences with coming to Norway.
- Experiences with living in living in Norway. Discrimination?
- Norwegian friends. Relationship with Norwegians and Norway.
- Experience of Norwegian culture/values: good/bad?
- Are you Norwegian? Somali? Both?
- Contact with Somalia. Why? What kind of contact? How often?

4. The organization

- Name, age, size
- Purpose/aims
- Activities. Civic/political?
- Why focus on Somalia?
- Where in Somalia?
- What nationalities are involved in the organization? From where in Somalia?
- Reason for working the way they do. Special role?
- Negative/positive impact the organization might have in Somalia.

5. Involvement in the organization

- For how long?
- How did you get involved?
- Motivation
- Involved in other organizations?

6. The organization and the Norwegian context

- How are the projects funded?

- Where applied for funding?
 - How did you find out where to apply?
 - Did you get help to apply?
- Other type of support from Norway? Government/organizations?
- Cooperation with other organizations Somali/Norwegian? Wish to cooperate?
- Challenges with getting funds or other support.
- Adapted projects/the organization to get funds or support?
- Recommendations
- Other comments?

7. Other organizations and contact information?

Ending the interview

Thank You!

Confidentiality

Intervju guide

Introduksjon

- Mål: Studere Somaliske organisasjoner og personer involvert i dem.
- Master oppgave i Peace and Conflict studies ved Universitetet i Oslo
- Ca 1 time
- Engelsk eller norsk
- Anonymt
- Opptak

1. Bakgrunnsinformasjon

- Alder
- Kjønn
- Utdannelse Somalia/Norge
- Arbeid Somalia/Norge
- Botid Norge
- Norsk statsborgerskap

2. I Somalia

- Hvor fra?
- Involvert i organisasjoner i Somalia?
- Hvorfor kom du til Norge?

3. I Norge

- Opplevelse rundt det å komme til Norge
- Opplevelse av å bo i Norge. Diskriminering?
- Norske venner? Forhold til nordmenn og Norge?
- Opplevelse av norsk kultur/verdier: bra/dårlig?
- Er du Norsk, Somalisk, begge deler? Har det forandret seg?
- Kontakt med Somalia. Hvorfor? Hvor ofte? Med hvem?

4. Organisasjonen

- Navn, alder, størrelse
- Mål med organisasjonen
- Hvilke aktiviteter. Sosiale/politiske?
- Hvorfor fokus på Somalia?
- Hvor i Somalia?
- Hvilke nasjonaliteter er involvert. Hvor fra i Somalia?
- Hvorfor jobbe slik organisasjonen gjør? Spesiell rolle?
- Negativ/positiv innvirkning organisasjonen kan ha i Somalia

5. Engasjement i organisasjonen

- Hvor lenge?
- Hvordan involvert?
- Motivasjon
- Involvert i andre organisasjoner?

6. Organisasjonen og den norske konteksten

- Hvordan er prosjektet støttet?
 - Hvor søkt om støtte?

- Hvordan fant ut hvor man kan søke om støtte?
- Hjelp i prosessen?
- Annen type støtte fra Norge? Myndighetene/organisasjoner?
- Samarbeid med andre organisasjoner Somaliske/Norske? Ønske om samarbeid?
- Utfordringer ved å få pengestøtte og annen type støtte
- Tilpasset prosjekter/organisasjoner til å få støtte?
- Anbefalinger?
- Andre kommentarer?

7. Tips om andre organisasjoner? Kontakt personer?

Avslutning av intervjuet

Tusen takk!

Anonymitet

Appendix 3: Index used for Identifying Themes and Concepts

1. Identity

- 1.1 Reason for dispersal
- 1.2 Connection to homeland /re-turn living in the home country through thought, travel, assistance.
- 1.3 Solidarity towards the home country, materiality of diaspora: feel responsible for people at home.
- 1.4 Not fully accepted in host country. Not belonging to a group. Search for an identity.
- 1.5 Discrimination.
- 1.6 Feel Norwegian
- 1.7 I am a resource
- 1.8 I could have been the one.
- 1.9 Altruism

2. Integration

- 2.1 Length of stay
- 2.2 Employment
- 2.3 Education
- 2.4 Migration status
- 2.5 Different values/ different perceptions
- 2.6 Values influencing organizational goals
- 2.7 Friends
- 2.8 Involvement in other organizations.
- 2.9 Status (men, women)

3. Goals

- 3.1 Social
- 3.2 Political
- 3.3 Values influenced
- 3.4 Not all support is positive
- 3.5 Role models
- 3.6 We are from there

4. Institutional Framework

- 4.1 Time/Follow Up
- 4.2 Cooperation with a big organization
- 4.3 Support UD/friends
- 4.4 Difficult because they are Somali
- 4.5 Wish of independence
- 4.6 Follow up that the money goes to the right place
- 4.7 Support from the Somali community

Appendix 4: Translations

¹ "I feel both. I have stayed here for so long that I feel much more a part of the Norwegian culture. Both when it comes to personality and way of thought. When it comes to culture I am close to being Norwegian. When you have lived in a country for over 10 years you have to accept that it is a big part of your life. "

² "I have been there many times during the last years. I have much contact with my mother in Somalia, the Somali community in Norway and outside Norway."

³ "I wear Somali clothes. I practice my religion. I speak Somali fluently. And it is just like being in Somalia when you are at home in a way. If I walk outside the door then you are a part of the local community. I am a coach for the girls team there my daughters go. We go skiing, out walking and participate in activities just like everybody else. Local activities like everybody else. And that is what is so good with living in a small community that you can be both Norwegian and Somali at the same time."

⁴ "I am as you would say in English I am a bit like two in one. Here I live in Norway and now I am used to it. And I know many Norwegian people and the Norwegian system and the Norwegian way of living and the Norwegian government, and Norwegian, and Norwegian and Norwegian. So now I am a part of them. So yes, now I am a part of them. I know that. I am part of the Norwegian people. So that is how it is. But at the same time. I am Somali. I am born to be a Somali and I will still be a Somali. So that is how it is.

⁵ "But for us immigrants who are grown up in Norway we are on the border of no man's land. So you have Norwegian language and Norwegian culture and you have lived here. At the same time you have your belonging to your culture and your family and your language. But you don't have both hundred percent. I don't speak perfect Somali. I don't. I don't understand one hundred percent, right, how the Somali culture is like. The same with the Norwegian as well. I don't feel hundred percent Norwegian. Something is missing. Clearly. I am not born here.[...] I have not had a typical Norwegian upbringing. So you can say that I am at the border between both."

⁶ " Well if one thinks at all those rights one gets one has as many rights as you or other ethnic Norwegians born here. But the physical pressure, the characteristics as an African or Muslim or something like that the whole time might sometimes become one extra that keep you from becoming very Norwegian. "

⁷ "When after a while you get pressure every day, bullying, it is bullying in a way. When you write shit about Somalis all the time. If you are bullied and you are one

ethnic group how can you feel your belonging then? The Norwegian community? Because you feel attacked all the time. All the time. And nobody says something, neither the government or nobody else stops it. “

⁸ “Well unless I speak with the person, the person can not tell that I am Norwegian.[...] It is about skin color right.”

⁹ “You feel; I am Norwegian, and I am Norwegian and yadda yadda yadda. All the time it is people who keep you a bit on the outside. And when you have traveled many kilometers from home, with all those problems and the baggage you have. And these small humiliating experiences they put you a bit back and hold you back.”

¹⁰ “No I don’t feel Norwegian at all. Even tough I have lived here for a while so it’s just that no, it is just kind of that I am very aware of my traditions and my culture and those kind of things. Well, I feel that I can never become Norwegian because they do things in this and this way, and I do things another way. And no I not, I can never feel Norwegian to put it that way.”

¹¹ “That one lives after Islam. That one does not drink and does not eat that and that. Don’t sleep around with guys and all that stuff. And that is kind of the opposite of how Norwegians do and live kind of. “

¹² “I have always gotten the jobs that I have wanted, and taken the curses I wanted and traveled the places I wanted and all that kind of stuff. So no, I don’t feel. So I don’t feel that much treated differently kind off. “

¹³ “Here in Norway I sometimes feel as a foreigner you know. But there it was kind of like yes now I am here and this is where I belong and lots of that stuff.

¹⁴ “Because they have needs. They have needs. And they have my belonging.”

¹⁵ “Eee it is kind of the way it is. It is our responsibility. We are from Somalia and it is our responsibility to support our own people. [...] But it is what you start with. The people you know are having a bad time where you are from, where your family is.”

¹⁶ “One place one has to start. One of the reasons was that it is a country which is in great need of help. You can imagine that everything is missing and one can contribute with that. Everything from education, education, clean water, educate people about hygiene. Build schools, roads. It is a country in need of everything from A to Z. So that is one of the reasons. The second reason is that we have a belonging there. It is our country. The third reason is that it is this country where I

think that I can make a difference in. It is not easy for me to go to Afghanistan. I can't do anything there, I don't know anybody there. I don't know how things work there. I don't know how the attitudes, the culture, the norms are there and so forth and so on. So you have to start somewhere, and one should start where it is possible to do something. “

¹⁷ “Everybody has relatives there. Their relatives go to that school near by. In addition to acknowledgement kind of, you travel to Somaliland. Ownership to the project. That project there are 20 countries that own together. And every one of them can go there and say that it is my own project.

¹⁸ “I want if the organizations work together, those who come from Somaliland, Puntland, Mogadishu, what is it called Djibouti. It is the same. It is Somalis. I want that all work together. And maybe make an umbrella [organization] and speak together. If you today have peace in your country you have to help me. If I today have peace, and you have problems, I have to help you. But they don't have those problems right. You come from Mogadishu that means that you have war. Shit. They speak lots of shit about where we are from. But you know Mogadishu has many different clans. What is the name of the clan that lives there? Many different clans. And then that clan against each other. [...] And then when they hear that we have to help here they get angry. That clan is no good. They have to help themselves. Yadda, Yadda, Yadda.”

¹⁹ “Because these people that I help. We lived together before. I know how they feel.”

²⁰ “ I have been circumcised 5 times so they said that you are not able to deliver the baby then. If I was there. What would happen? Lots of problems.”

²¹ “And I have seen many girls who are 15 years old [...] it has reminded me of how horrible it is to have children when you are a child yourself. And what can I say. I think about what happens down there. It touches me. Or I have experienced my self what those girls are going through.”

²² “It is the meaning with life. If you can not contribute to humanity then your life has no meaning after my way of reasoning. [...] I believe in solidarity. I believe in solidarity no matter what. It is many, not only Somalis like me, who come to me and ask if I will help Chechnya economically or with my experience. So it is what I believe in right. To help other people. The job that I have now that gives my salary it is about people. Because I feel that my life does not have any meaning if I don't do anything positive for mankind, or humanity.”

²³ “I live in Norway and I am a Norwegian citizen. Norwegian citizen right. OK people who live very nice. Lots of knowledge here and resources, so why not help those who need it.”

²⁴ “The interest and knowledge that I have. I see a picture of that it is possible to do something. I am orientated about the future. Have you seen the movie Die Hard one or two? [Yes] There it is a scene where the actor is asked; why are you doing this? He says that if he knew that there were others who had the possibility he would not have done it. So that is what I am thinking. The feeling that I can do something.”

²⁵ “If you think that you have done well in Norway you can help others as well. It is kind of evidence that we in [name of the small city where he lives] have done well. But if you are struggling yourself then there is no room to help others.”

²⁶ “So I can’t give 10 or 20 dollars. It has to be at least 100 dollars, so then it becomes more than 1000 dollars. That can be one reason. And they don’t know that it is difficult to make money here.”

²⁷ “And then I say. I don’t have a job. I am applying for asylum. I have lots of kids and it’s a bit difficult to live.”

²⁸ “We help by sending money, organize schools and help with getting water resources because there is no state.”

²⁹ “It might be that lives are ruined just because of one simple toilet. It is a girl who is going to pee and get’s raped. It is as simple as that. If she had a toilet closer to her home she could go there instead. And if you build a well, instead of walking all the way down to the river and walk all the way there and get raped or killed so she can use the water there. That is how basic it is. And what are the results? Less problems for most of the public.”

³⁰ “Football for the children and youth so they forget to fight against each other.”

³¹ “Child soldiers has made the situation very difficult here in Somalia. Because it is the only possibility they have. That’s why we thought that it was important to give these children something different to do. A possibility to learn to read and write.”

³² “It is important to build a bridge between clans. I have been back and forth between Norway and Somalia many times in 2006, 2007 and 2008. I have participated many times and solved problems. People sit and speak with each other. Dialog is an important tool. People have to give and take in negotiations.”

³³ “Because we can be role models for others. And we can show that we are Somalis and can be friends and brothers.”

³⁴ “So how do you think that you can just sit at home and receive support from the outside? You have a country. You have a sea. You have to try to do something. You need equipment, [and] help so you can try to find it. Only once.”

³⁵ “But if you weigh the negative against the positive, then the positive will weigh more. Because there are people in need right now. They need help fast. Then there is no point in sitting and wondering what will happen in 30 years. What effect it will have on the next generation.”

³⁶ “We have given the Foreign Ministry tips. Told when there might be brewing up to a conflict. It is important to work preventively. Something has to be done. We have sent e-mail to UN, the Foreign Ministry and the Norwegian Peace Center. They were interested.”

³⁷ “No, it might be that the Norwegian government sends election observers to Somaliland when there is an election. We have asked for that, and they have accepted it. We have asked whether or not Norway is interested in acknowledging Somaliland as a country. Those kind of things have we done. “

³⁸ “We don’t support Somalia, but we support Ogaden here in Norway through holding speeches and demonstrations etc. We can not accept that the Ethiopian war machine is going to continue killing children. Ethiopian forces don’t ask if one is a rebel or not. People from Somalia live in Ogaden also. We are talking about Somalis. But the government in Ethiopia only thinks about slaughter them as goats. “

³⁹ “People have to make their own choices. I have gotten that way of thought because I have lived here for so long. It is important to take democracy seriously regardless of sex or color. In Somalia they don’t understand what I stand for. They are dependent on clan, family etc to know what they should think.”

⁴⁰ “Because I am very involved in politics here. And I learn a lot and bring with me those things down there. And since it is democratic governance there I feel that I can contribute a bit there. So that democracy is looked after especially for women and gender equality. That is things that I have learned here.”

⁴¹ “We have applied together with a Norwegian organization. We applied through the Norwegian organization which took the responsibility. They call it partner organization. They have projects in Africa and are experts at what they do.”

⁴² “That we can show both ourselves and other Somalis that we can manage ourselves without applying for funds.”

⁴³ “The Norwegian government says like this; you have to find a big organization. You go to a big organization. The big organization is competing with you. Competing with you to get funds. They don’t want anything to do with you. How can you ask the organization that is competing with you for help?”

⁴⁴ “The Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation asked us to do a risk and conflict analysis. We have to adapt, we think it is easy. But then it turns into ‘skippertak’ (you wait until the last minute before you do something). It is voluntary work right. We have to adjust to their demands.”

⁴⁵ “The answer we got was like this; that area needs political lobbying. What does it have to do with politics to help poor people? If you have some funds on your budget to help poor people; why tie it up to politics? It is human beings. It is children like your children.”

⁴⁶ “It is my recommendation that one reduces the bureaucracy. It is a big bureaucracy. So it is a bit difficult when you are a small organization to get threw the system.”

⁴⁷ “We can not influence if we don’t have resources. One has to use time. One has to get paid for the work one does. Volunteer Work can exhaust you. If we are well organized can we do something. We can not get organized because we don’t have enough time and money. People prefer to work. That is the biggest hinder for us to do what can do. Some of us have two jobs.”

⁴⁸ “No because that type of project needs a lot of attention. Lots of funds. So we have not really taken that type of responsibility. Because I the leader work a lot. “

⁴⁹ “We used the first years to build a system that would be credible among Somalis. We did not think of a big organization, but on those that pay every month. That the system should be credible. That they can see where the money the pay every month goes. That it is clear.”

⁵⁰ “Well, there are projects that we are interested in, but it is very difficult to get funding. And I think that the Norwegian government should invest in these projects. Trust us. Make it easier. It is very difficult to get threw projects when you are a Somali organization run by Somalis. But it is much easier to get for Norwegian organizations. Volunteer organizations that are big and well know. And that is about trust and it is a shame that they don’t, that the small organizations that know the situation down there and the culture her don’t get the opportunity that the big organizations get.”

⁵¹ “We have actually taken advantage of the clan system. We are a small sub clan living here. And the clan is one way to insure. Insurance system. And when you are in a clan you have to pay, you have to contribute no matter what. And almost everybody who comes from our clan that lives in Norway, Europe, and in the USA and Arabic countries are contributing.”

⁵² “I considered it to be a big problem, a big dilemma, because if you work with a clan based system then you are part of what is maintaining the system that in the first place destroyed your country.”

⁵³ “Where you’re from is important in Somalia. If you don’t have any relatives there then you can’t start anything there either. Clans doubt each other. They say “You belong to this area. What are you doing here?” That’s why we started in Mogadishu and Mudug. It is the same people who live there.”

⁵⁴ “It might be because of ignorance. And it’s almost like they are keeping that thought that it is the clan troubles that are the biggest problem. Somalia is changing the whole time. The same clan is fighting against each other the whole time. So I think it is a bit stupid to use clan to turn an application down. One should use the application, look at the application and evaluate it individually. “

⁵⁵ “To write an application is easy. Anyone can go online and find and write an application.”

⁵⁶ “We don’t know how to apply for this money. [Did you try to find out how?] No. [Why not?] We don’t know which way. We don’t know which way to apply.”

⁵⁷ “At that time there were some organizations which actually, and it has been in the media. Somali organizations that has been in the media and cheated with numbers etc. So for us it was not an option to apply for support from the government. At least not right away. We, well you don’t apply for funding without having started a project right. Without having any concrete numbers, facts ready.”

⁵⁸ “Sometimes I go different places and look for a big organization that can help Somalia. But sometimes I think that they don’t want to help Somalia. I see many organizations that help Kenya, Liberia, Sierra Leone, but not Somalia. And sometime I think to my selves. Why don’t they want to help Somalia? Maybe [because] they are Muslims? They don’t want to help. What is happening? I ask these questions to my selves. And sometimes I get angry.”